

The East India Company's role in the Development of Education in India
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Towards Education in the English Medium
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Towards Education in the English Medium

Education in the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras & the NW P
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Missionaries and Enlightened Indians
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The Age of Dalhousie
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The Hunter Commission
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The Age of Curzon
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National Education till 1912
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The Government of India resolution on Indian Education
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The Calcutta University Commission
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Education under provincial Autonomy
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Towards a National Policy on Education
Towards a National Policy on Education
Towards a National Policy on Education

The Critical Years
The Critical Years
The Critical Years



THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN INDIA

1757-1998

SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH

The last few decades have witnessed significant changes in the concepts of education and history. This book presents a historical overview of education in Modern India from its colonial beginnings in 1757 through the implementation of the New Education Policy in 1986. The manner in which our education system was imported and later adapted to suit Indian conditions, the initial reaction of the British and their hostility later, the subsequent reforms: their intentions and implications, their rebuttal by the rise of the unemployed and professional Indians, the reactions of our forefathers and the extent to which we have been able to alter the system to suit our needs, interests and aspirations have all been discussed in a style that is clear and concise.

This study reviews controversial issues like the introduction of English education in India, the authorship of the education despatch of 1854, the Curzon University Reform of 1899-1905 and also indicates how the new national policy of education promulgated in 1986 could be successfully implemented especially in view of the shifting political scenario in the country.

This revised edition analyses the developments in education from 1986 to 1998. It also shows that the credit for English education in India should go to Bentinck and not to Macaulay as is usually done.

Meticulously researched, the book is based on the critical use of archival sources and private papers and is essential reading not only for students at the graduate and post-graduate levels but also for a larger audience with an interest in education in India.

The History of Education in Modern India
1757–1998

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(Revised and Updated Edition)

SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH



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Preface to the Second Edition

Despite my misgivings about the prospect of the 1986 New National Policy in Education, there have been some interesting developments in education since its promulgation following a rapid change of government at the Centre. These, coupled with the publication of my article, "Bentinck, Macaulay and the Introduction of English Education in India" in *History of Education* in London where I have shown that the credit for the introduction of English education in the country should be given to Bentinck and not to Macaulay as is usually done, have made it imperative for me to revise and update the book published in August 1995. The book has already been received well both by the specialist and the non-specialist audience on the subject in India and abroad and I do hope that its revised and updated version will receive the same appreciation that was bestowed on it earlier.

Jawaharlal Nehru University
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SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH

Preface

Before Independence (1947) there were two Indias—one was the India controlled by the Indian Princes and the other was the India controlled by the British Raj. Since our knowledge about the educational developments in India under the Indian Princes is still fuzzy, the pages of this book till 1947 delineate the history of education in British India only. A substantial portion of this account is based upon my own research done at different times and on different occasions at London, Edinburgh, Calcutta and Delhi and also on my lectures delivered to the students offering courses in the history of education at the post-graduate and research levels. The last chapter which depicts the educational developments in the country since Independence is based upon a paper on the 1986 National Policy on Education written in November 1987 and delivered at an international conference at Atlanta, U.S.A., in March 1988. Most of the observations made in 1987 about the 1986 policy have now proved themselves and I do not feel the need to add a postscript to this chapter by mentioning the Acharya Ramamurti Committee appointed by the National Front Government in May 1990 to review the 1986 Policy.

The book is written in the light of the 'New History of Education' that has emerged in the past two decades in Europe and America. Although it is mainly written for a non-specialist audience, it contains valuable reference for students of the history of education at the college and university levels.

SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH

1

Introduction

In the last few decades there have been changes both in the concepts of education and of history. While education has increasingly become a major social, political and economic issue since the fairly recent emergence of the countries in the Third World, comprehensive changes have taken place in the understanding of history, with slogans like "the new history" being bandied around in academic circles. Some of the areas of history which are most affected by these changes are local history, comparative history, political history, social history, and intellectual and cultural history.

In local history, adequate attention is now paid not only to a study of institutions or personalities but of structures and processes, and to the discovery of continuities and discontinuities across the centuries without dividing the past into convenient periods. As the scope of local history broadens out, it ceases to involve an exercise of illustrating what is already known about national history from local examples and becomes rather a means of reconstructing national history afresh from local materials. As a sequel to the rediscovery of the variety of experience embedded in local, regional and national sub-cultures, a new approach to comparative history has emerged, pivoting on the discovery of what was common between and what was distinctive to different societies. What is also becoming more useful in the reconstruction of local history is a quantitative approach. As Schumpeter put it, "we need statistics not only for explaining things but in order to know precisely what there is to be explained." The analysis of

bodies of data which were often collected for strictly limited immediate purposes of the historian, can in itself stimulate the asking of new questions. In political history attention is now moving from particular pieces of legislation—though these are still studied within a different frame—to cumulative administrative processes, to the making of critical decisions and to the changing scale and role of organization. It involves less concentration on the “landmarks” and more on the interplay of people and problems. Similarly, in social history attempt is now made to use concepts derived from sociology, anthropology and psychology to study the “history from below.” The new social history directs attention to people whose names never figured in the older history books, who were deprived or neglected in their own time and whose participation in government was minimal or non-existent, and people whose attitudes towards “authority” could be deferential or resentful, passive or hostile. And finally, we have the new intellectual and cultural history. The history of ideas is now beginning to come into its own, not merely the history of the ideas of “great thinkers” but the history of chains of ideas and their mode of communication through different “media”, highlighting the shifting relationships between “minority” and “mass” communication, the significance of “language” and the form of control. The new history of ideas has been associated with a re-examination of such crucial changes as the invention and development of printing and the subsequent history of literacy and the more recent “communications revolution.”

These new approaches to history reveal current preoccupations, made possible by the availability of new materials and techniques, although techniques including oral interviews are, of course, instrumental and depend for their success on the quality of the questions asked. Most important of all, the new approaches represent a new balance between specialisation and generalisation—the old barriers between the different sub-branches of history are breaking down and new efforts at synthesis are being made, making possible the emergence of the ‘Total History’, as advocated by Lucien Febvre of the *École des Annales*.

In studying the history of education each of these new approaches is to be explored carefully. For history of education is no longer regarded as a matter of “Acts and Facts”, as the conception of education has broadened considerably in recent years—

education being no longer just a matter of formal schooling, but of all the many influences which go to shape a person's character and intellect. The history of education is therefore concerned, not merely with institutions such as schools, colleges and universities, but with the social forces which have affected the quality of life, and with the ideas which have been put forward by theorists and practitioners of education in the past. Education is thus an adjunct to the historical process besides being one of the chief factors conditioning peoples' outlooks and aspirations. Briefly, therefore, the study of the history of education is best considered as a part of the wider study of the history of society—social history broadly interpreted through the politics, the economics and the religion of the society concerned.

It must, however, be mentioned here that the new history of education that has emerged in the United States and Europe since the 1960s, more out of an increasing interest in contemporary problems created by the climate of an international competition which existed at the end of 1950s than out of an increasing interest in the past, is not entirely a "new discovery." In 1886 Gabriel Compayré in his *Histoire de la Pédagogie*, published in Paris, considered that this discipline "in its vast scope, should embrace the entire field of intellectual and moral culture of all ages and all countries." He further added that in addition to formal education, there "exists a natural education that one receives unaware, without volition, through the influence of the social surroundings in which one lives. There exists what a contemporary philosopher has cleverly called the occult co-workers in education, i.e., climate, race, customs, social condition, political institutions and religious beliefs." In this context one may recall the works of Henri Pirenne, the Belgian specialist in the economic, social and demographic history of the Middle Ages; of Huizinga, the Dutch historian of mentalities; and of the Polish historian Znaniecki who drew upon popular autobiographical accounts. Most frequently, however, the principal source of the renewal of historiography is considered to be the *École des Annales* founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. Thus in taking up new subjects and changing orientations, the historiography of education displays a trend which started well before the beginning of the 1960s.

The history of education is a popular subject in the West but unfortunately its study in India is grossly neglected or left to a

small and scattered group of educationists, some of whom are unaware of the broad trends of historical scholarship. There has hardly been any serious research in the subject and the few books that we have here on the history of education are largely based on Government of India records and reports. These books present a huge mass of facts and figures without an indepth analysis of the cause and effect relationship in the developments or changes that appear on the surface of education in India. One factor contributing to this deficiency in the existing literature is obviously the failure of authors to consult sources other than official publications. Government accounts of educational developments in the country come handy in H. Sharp and J.A. Richey's *Selections from Educational Records of the Government of India*, compiled in two parts covering the period from 1781 to 1859. From 1859 onwards we have the annual reports of *Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India*, and from 1886 onwards the *Quinquennial Reviews of Education*, dealing with the progress of education every five years published as a follow up of the discussion on the *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1882. While voluminous reports and recommendations of the various commissions and committees are meticulously studied, private papers of the officials of the East India Company till 1857 and of the British crown after 1857, concerned with the educational developments in India are absolutely overlooked. Similarly overlooked are the contemporary memoirs, letters and diaries as well as the contemporary newspapers and proceedings of the Indian National Congress since 1885, which throw a flood of light on Indian reaction to changes in education under the British Raj.

Among the sources thus neglected, the most important are the private papers. The private papers of the British officials highlight the real issues and motives behind changes in education and a careful study of them certainly illuminates many dark corners in the history of education in modern India.

Notwithstanding the gaps in the existing literature there are two developments which make one feel optimistic about the future of this discipline in India. First, the waves of "new history" have reached the shores of India and many historians are becoming interested in a critical study of the subject. Secondly, following the recent recommendations of the UGC's committee on curriculum development programmes in education, a course on the

history of education is likely to be offered by many universities in their teacher training programmes. Teachers should know about the educational developments in their own country before engaging themselves in debates on various technical aspects of education.

2

The East India Company's Role in the Development of Education in India

Education in Pre-Colonial India

From our discussion on the study of the history of education in the previous chapter, one may be led to believe that education had been unknown to India and the education system in India was the creation of the East India Company and the British Crown. This is far from correct. "There is no country," so wrote F.W. Thomas in his *The History and Prospect of British Education in India* in 1891, "where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars."

What was the nature of this Indian education as it existed when the British came? Indian education had always been, since the Vedic age, of a classical and spiritual rather than of a practical nature. However, this description is mainly applicable to higher education which was generally literary, philosophical and religious. It was communicated through the sacred classical languages of the Hindus and the Muslims, namely Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The subjects taught were the scriptures, grammar, logic and the classics which included codes of law and such scientific works as had come down to them from early times. While the Indian writers had been prolific in their production of philosophical and literary works, they paid little attention to the

development of science which, though it had made some remarkable progress in early days, had now fallen in disgrace.

How was this learning imparted? Learning among the Hindus had been the monopoly of the high, especially of the priestly castes. The learned *Brahmins* gathered students from various parts of the country and in the homely atmosphere of their *Tols* and *Chatuspathis* as these were known in Bengal and Bihar, imparted knowledge. Life in those places was pure and simple. The teachers not only received no fees but provided free board and lodging for their students. The course of studies extended from fifteen to twenty years and the hours of study were long and severe. There were also larger education establishments in the various religious centres, the most famous of which in the Ganges Valley were Nadia, Tirhut (Tirabhukti or Mithila) and Benares. These were conducted by learned *pandits*, who were liberally patronised by the rulers and the aristocracy and were men of high character and immense learning and lived a simple life. The Muslim seats of learning called *Madrasahs* were less spiritual and were smaller in number than the Hindu seats of learning and were meant chiefly for the training of law officers. Besides laws, instruction was also given in these institutions in scriptures, literature, grammar, penmanship, logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy and arithmetic and average duration of the study was ten to twelve years. One interesting feature was that the Hindus could also attend those seminaries meant primarily for the Muslims.

However, these institutions were not meant for education of an elementary kind. They were the highest seminaries of learning meant for the specialists. For primary education, there were in the villages *Pathshalas* and *Maktabs* where the *Gurus* and the *Maulavis* imparted a knowledge of the three "R"s to the boys of the locality. These schools were not paying concerns and had to depend on the generosity of the people. Instruction in these schools was given in the vernaculars. The aristocracy did not send their children to these schools but preferred to educate them at home. There was no school for the education of the girls though the *Zamindars* often had their daughters educated at home. The majority of the Indians were unwilling to educate their girls on account of social prejudice and superstition, while the lower classes could not afford it.

What was the nature and extent of the elementary education as it existed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century?

Unfortunately, we do not have adequate sources of information to answer this question fully, but from a series of surveys carried out in elementary education by the officials of the East India Company between 1822 and 1838 we can fairly assume that elementary education was quite popular in the villages of British India. In a minute of 10 March 1826 Thomas Munro, the Governor of the Madras Presidency, observed that there were 12,498 schools with 1,88,650 pupils in the whole province out of a total population of 1,28,50,941 while a survey conducted in the Bombay Presidency by order of the Bombay Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1829 showed the existence of 1,705 schools with 35,153 pupils in a population of 46,81,735. In the Bengal Presidency the survey was conducted by a missionary, William Adam, appointed by the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to report on the state of elementary education in the province. Adam submitted three reports between 1835 and 1838—he estimated that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were 1,00,000 schools in Bengal and Bihar or roughly two schools for every three villages. Assuming the population of these two provinces to be 4,00,00,000, there would be a village school for every 400 persons. He did not find any school for girls and as girls formed one half of the school-going population, Adam concluded that there was one elementary school, for every 32 boys. It must be mentioned here that these surveys, particularly those of Munro and Adam, included places of domestic instruction—the system of providing instruction at home—in their interpretation of the term schools and considering this, the figure of villages as offered by these surveys does not appear to be “a legend” or “a myth” as educationists like Philip Hartog would have us believe. From other sources also we are informed of the existence of a school in every village. William Ward, a Baptist Missionary based at Serampore, observed in his *A View of the History of the Religion and Mythology of the Hindus* that “almost all villages possessed schools for teaching, reading, writing and elementary arithmetic.” Malcolm noted in his *Memoires of Central India* that every village with about a hundred houses had a school-master who taught “the children of the *banians* or shop-keepers and those of such cultivators, as choose.”

Village schools served a very useful purpose—they fulfilled the needs and requirements of the villagers, the petty *Zamindar*, the *bania* and the well-to-do farmer. The curriculum consisted of

reading, writing and arithmetic (both written and oral). There were no printed books and the locally made slates and pencils were the only equipment the pupils needed. The hours of instruction and the days of working were adjusted to local requirements. There was no regular period of admission—a pupil could join the school at any time and leave it when he had acquired all that he desired to know. Such schools which were often without any buildings of their own were held sometimes in the home of a teacher or a patron, in a mosque or a temple, and not infrequently under the shade of trees. The number of pupils could vary from one to twenty but in bigger schools the senior pupils were appointed to teach the junior ones. This system attracted the attention of the Madras Chaplain, Dr. A. Bell, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating the poor and later it came to be known as the Monitorial or Madras System in England. The teachers for these schools, like their students, came from all classes including the depressed classes as Adam's analysis of castes shows and were paid either in cash or in kind according to the ability of the parents of the pupils. However, these schools which had shown wonderful adaptability to local environment and existed for centuries through a variety of economic conditions or political vicissitudes showed signs of decay at the coming of the British Raj. One factor which contributed to it was the gradual destruction of village crafts and industries and the growing impoverishment of the people following a series of economic reforms including the Permanent Settlement in the Bengal Presidency in the late eighteenth century.

British Interest in Oriental Education

It was the classical aspect of Indian education that first attracted the attention of a few high officials of the East India Company after the Company had stood forth as the *Dewan* in 1765 in the Bengal Presidency. Such officials though few in number had spent most of their career in India—they were not only able to survive the Indian climate but develop a taste for many things Indian. Foremost among them was Warren Hastings who came to India in the service of the East India Company as a Writer in 1751 and by 1772 rose to be the Governor of Fort-William in Bengal. Hastings developed a great love for Indo-Persian Culture. With his encouragement as Governor-General of Bengal, Nathaniel

Halhed wrote *A Code of Gentoo Laws* in 1776 and *Bengali grammar* in 1778 and in 1779 Charles Wilkins brought out his Sanskrit grammar; Francis Gladwin wrote *Institutes of the Emperor Akbar* in 1783. In 1781, he established the Calcutta *Madrassa* at the request of a Muslim deputation. The main object was to "qualify the sons of the Mohammadan gentlemen for responsible and lucrative offices in the state even at that time largely monopolised by the Hindus." The institution was very popular and attracted scholars from far off places. The period of study extended over seven years and the scholars received stipends to study the courses. The courses included natural philosophy, Quranic theology, law, geometry, arithmetic, logic and grammar—all on Islamic lines. The medium of instruction was Arabic. Hastings purchased a site and laid the foundation of the *Madrassa* on his own account and asked the Court of Directors to assign "the rents of one or more villages" near Calcutta as an endowment for the institution. The Directors later sanctioned this and reimbursed Hastings.

Another high official of the East India Company who was greatly attracted to higher learning in India was William Jones. Unlike Hastings, Jones had not spent many years in India to develop a love for Indo-Persian Culture. As a matter of fact, he was already an accomplished Persian scholar, whose *Grammar of the Persian Language* and translation of the work of Persian poets, published in 1771 and 1773 had won him a European reputation, when he came to India as a judge of the Supreme Court established by the Regulating Act of 1773 at Calcutta. He now applied his own enthusiasm to the organization of scholarly efforts in Bengal but he soon realised that without "the united efforts of many" he could not achieve his ambition of knowing India "*better than any other European ever knew it*"¹ as he later told Lord Althorp. He had been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in London in 1773 and had set out to create a similar learned society in Calcutta with the "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia" as its aim. The "*Asiatick Society*" of Bengal which was formed on 15 January 1784 to pursue this aim gave a great fillip to ancient learning in India by discovering, editing and publishing rare Sanskrit manuscripts, besides bringing out the journal, *Asiatick Researches*, containing scholarly contributions in Oriental

1. Italics are Jones'.

learning. Jones himself developed a greater taste for Sanskrit learning and used to spend "three months every year" in Nadia, a pre-eminent centre for Sanskrit learning in Bengal, described by a contributor to the *Calcutta Review* in 1872 as the "Oxford of the Province", and used to converse fluently in Sanskrit with the *Brahmins* during his stay there.

Sanskrit learning in the Bengal Presidency received further impetus when in 1792 Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares obtained the permission of Cornwallis, the Governor-General, to establish a Sanskrit College at Benares, for preserving and cultivating the laws, literatures and scriptures of the Hindus. In this college as in the *Calcutta Madrassa*, the students were not only taught *gratis*, but were also given stipends. Eight years later when Wellesley, the Governor-General, set up the Fort William College at Calcutta to train the servants of the East India Company as administrators of the vast territories acquired by the East India Company since 1765, he included courses on Oriental learning including Sanskrit and Persian and appointed *Pandits* or Oriental experts to teach them.

These examples of patronization of the classical learning by a few high officials of the East India Company do not in any way indicate the attitude of the Company towards education in India. For, both the *Calcutta Madrassa* and the Benares Sanskrit College were individual enterprises for preservation of ancient Indian culture and were attempts at reconciling the feelings of the two major communities in India, while inclusion of Oriental learning in the courses at Fort William was an administrative expediency. Nor do these measures represent the attitude of the vast body of the employees of the East India Company in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras towards education in India. Those who came to Bengal and elsewhere in India were just teenagers of good and influential connexions, with a good hand and knowledge of commercial arithmetic and book-keeping. Since the employees were paid very lowly by the Company, they had to take to various irregularities to increase their earnings. For most of them the major concern was to make money and to enjoy it at home after retirement. Many who were able to survive the climate of Bengal, Madras and Bombay did return with a good fortune, purchased landed estates and became members of Parliament as well as of the Court of Directors and thus became an important factor in

influencing the policy of the East India Company. Yet, these measures in classical learning particularly the creation of the "Asiatick Society" initiated by a few high officials of the East India Company had their impact later in raising a group of dedicated Oriental scholars who profoundly influenced the East India Company's policy towards education when it happened to have one in the second decade of the next century.

Charles Grant's Plan

Among those who were able to retire to a successful life in England after a career in India, Charles Grant shines as a bright star. The reason why Grant is singled out here for a special mention is because of his contributions to the development of a modern education system in India. Charles Grant's contribution to British rule in India has been investigated a few decades ago by Professor A.T. Embree but educationists in India generally tend to overlook his role in the introduction of Western education in India. We shall presently see that he was the first Englishman, at least four decades before Macaulay, to argue for the introduction of English education with a view to introducing Christianity in India. Grant was no missionary—so why did he want to proselytize the Indians? Grant who had come to India in 1767, acquired an immense fortune, and led a hectic life till 1786 when through family mishaps and close contact with the Chaplain David Brown and the Civilian George Udny, underwent a great change. He was appalled at the degeneration of the Indian society following the break up of the Mughal empire in the late eighteenth century.

What was the state of the society in India as Grant saw it? In India, religion has always been a very strong spiritual force which binds the people together but at the time of Grant it had sunk into the grossest form of superstition. Every stone and every tree had acquired the importance of a deity and every phenomenon of nature was taken as a manifestation of the divine will. People had begun the practice of throwing children into the sea for propitiating the gods and of swinging the devotees in iron hooks during certain religious festivals. Over zealous devotees also practised various kinds of self-tortures such as *Dharma* in order to atone for their sins. The degenerated *Brahmins* had begun to impose their self-motivated interpretation of the scriptures upon the credulous simplicity of ignorant people, who looked upon their words as

law which no one could contradict. Social life was degraded. Many abuses, some of the most gruesome nature, had crept into the society. Infanticide was widely practised in Central India, especially among the Rajputs. The custom of *sati* or self-immolation of widows was widely prevalent and was looked upon as a sacred act. Caste, once based upon the functions of individuals, had become a rigid system which kept its various branches in watertight compartments, although the members had ceased to adhere to the functions originally assigned to them. Only the *Brahmins* had maintained their monopoly of priestly position. This had naturally led to grave abuses because it had given birth precedence over all other consideration and had consigned to the most degraded state of existence, some of the low caste people like the *pariahs* and untouchables, mere contact with one of whom was sufficient to make one lose one's caste. The aristocracy which had been hit most by the political instability, had degraded themselves in debauchery and dissipation. *Kulinism*, originally intended to maintain the purity of blood line of the higher classes, had degenerated into child marriage and polygamy. Where the higher castes had sunk to such low levels, the women could not have been expected to have a better fate. Married at quite an early age they got little, if any, opportunity of acquiring education and were kept in seclusion or *purdah*.

Grant felt that these abuses of the Indian society could be removed by the introduction of Christianity. So in 1790 when he returned home, he worked for it with greater vigour since the time for the renewal of the Company's Charter was drawing near, thus providing for an opportunity of bringing the case for evangelization of India before the Parliament, and thereby also forcing the hands of the Directors who did not allow the missionaries to come to India for proselytization. However, the idea had to be dropped when King George III, having been apprised of the scheme, was reluctant to support it chiefly in consequence of the alarming progress of the French Revolution and the proneness of the period to movements subversive of the established order of things. Wilberforce, MP for York, with whom Grant had been in contact before he came to London in 1790, then advised Grant to produce a paper showing a plan for the diffusion of knowledge in India, rather than for the propagation of Christianity. Grant picked up the suggestion and wrote: *Observations on the State of Society among*

the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, Particularly in the Respect of Morals And on the Means of Improving It.

In his treatise which Grant wrote in 1792 and published at London in 1797, he charged the Hindus with dishonesty, corruption, fraud, mutual hatred and distrust, and described their customs such as *sati* as barbarous; and the Muslims with haughtiness, perfidy, licentiousness and lawlessness and asserted that the intercourse of the two communities had led to the further debasement of both because each had imbibed the vices of the other. Grant blamed the East India Company for viewing those grave evils with apathy and contended that it was under no obligation to protect the creed of the Hindus which was monstrous and "subversive of the first principles of reason, morality and religion." As a remedy to all these evils, Grant suggested a "healing principle", namely, the supersession of the existing religions by Christianity through the dissemination of the science and literature of Europe, "a key which would at once open a world of new ideas" to them. Grant stated that the long intercourse between the Indians and the Europeans in Bengal rendered it feasible to use English as the medium of instruction. Moreover, he said, a knowledge of the English language would immediately place the whole range of European knowledge within their reach, while translation of English books into the Indian languages would take a long time and would be less efficacious. Grant also urged the substitution of English for Persian as the official language because that would induce the Indians to learn it. He urged the establishment of English schools under teachers "of good moral character", hoping that very soon the pupils taught in these schools would themselves become the teachers of English to their countrymen. In conclusion, he triumphantly asserted, "the true cure of darkness is light. The Hindus err because they are ignorant and their errors have never been fairly laid before them."

Grant's observations were reflections of the two forces at home, one unplanned, the other purposeful—the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Movement—in putting forward new social values. The Industrial Revolution created a new class of men with power and authority to set beside the old aristocratic, landowning leadership, where the latter had depended upon inheritance in a fixed hierarchical society and had set an example of grand, even extravagant living, the new men rose by personal effort, by hard

work and by frugality. A new economic order developed a new code of social values and behaviour in answer to its unspoken need. Contemporaneously, a religious revival affected England which though it had its starting point in Vital Religion, in personal conversion, also served to promote such social virtues as frugality, sobriety and industry. Among the lower orders of society it was Methodism which inspired "the civilization, the industry and sobriety of great numbers of the labouring part of the country." Among the upper classes the impulse was provided by the evangelicals and by such persons as Hannah More. They numbered in their ranks men such as Milner of Queen's College or Simeon of King's College, Cambridge, the merchant Zachary Macaulay, Wilberforce, Henry Thornton the banker and James Stephen, the lawyer, men of the class from which many of the Company's servants were drawn. In 1793 Wilberforce and Hannah More gathered round Joseph Venn, the Rector of Clapham and were there joined by Charles Grant, by Sir John Shore, Stephen, Thornton, Macaulay and others. These Claphamities were, perhaps, social conservatives in their acceptance of the order of the society, but they were radical in their determination to secure a reformation of manners and a new righteousness in the upper ranks of society.

When Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control set up in 1784 by Pitt's India Act to supervise the activities of the Court of Directors, was shown Grant's manuscript containing his observations, he asked his Secretary, William Cabell, to write a note on it. Cabell emphasised the political advantages that could be derived from developing an education policy based on Grant's *Observations*. He mentioned that a common language would draw the ruler and the ruled into closer contact and the introduction of European education would lead to the removal of many abuses from which the people were suffering due to their "false system of beliefs and a total want of right instruction among them." However, when the subject was debated upon on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor General grouped the clauses into a Bill explicitly stating that the real end sought was to send missionaries and school masters to India for the ultimate conversion of Indians. And this was fully detrimental to the trading interests of the Company, dominated by men with long experience in India who considered that any such move would result in political unrest in that country.

They condemned the Bill and through some of their connections in both the Houses of Parliament manœuvred to defeat it. And thus was lost Charles Grant's unique opportunity to become a pioneer in the introduction of Western education in India.

The Role of the Evangelists

The failure of Grant's plan of introducing Western education in India to facilitate conversion of Indians into Christianity did not mean an end to his effort to send evangelists to India. This he did indirectly. It was customary, at this time, for the Chairman of the Court of Directors to select Chaplains for Europeans in India, and Grant who subsequently came to hold the Chair, availed himself of this opportunity of sending out ardent evangelists like C. Buchanan and Henry Martin. There were also some among the retired officials of the East India Company who shared Grant's views on the introduction of Western education as a step towards proselytization for the political benefits that it would accrue. For example, Sir John Shore after his retirement from the governor-generalship of Bengal observed: "Until our subjects there [India] shall be animated with us by a community of religious faith, we shall never consider our dominion as secure against the effects of external attack or internal commotion."

During the decade that followed the Charter Act of 1793, the evangelicals in England focussed their attention towards finding some means of avoiding the restrictions imposed on the passage of missionaries to India by the terms of the Act. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary and a shoemaker by profession was sent to India in 1793 in a Danish ship by the London Baptist Missionary Society and his example was followed in 1799 by two other missionaries who came in an American ship and settled down in Serampore, a Danish colony, not far away from Calcutta which was the headquarters of the East India Company in India. Carey had settled down with the help of George Udny in Dinajpore where he opened a free boarding school for poor children who were given instructions in Sanskrit, Persian and Bengali as well as in the doctrines of Christianity. In 1800, Carey joined Marshman and Ward in Serampore. With the help of a paper manufactory and the printing press which soon began to receive large commissions from the Company's establishments in Bengal, they carried

on their work for the dissemination of education and propagation of Christianity among the people of Bengal.

As decided by Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, the Charter Act of the East India Company was to be renewed every twenty years. Accordingly, when the term of the Company's Charter was due to expire in 1813, the missionaries were determined to make this occasion another trial of strength in Parliament with the Directors. In February 1812, a Committee was formed consisting of Wilberforce, Grant, Thornton, Stephen and Babington to arrange an interview on behalf of the various religious organizations in Britain. Soon there was dissension among the missionaries themselves due to the jealousy of the dissenters of the Church of England but Wilberforce managed to keep them together. He persuaded the Church of Scotland to take the lead of the Non-conformists and himself along with Grant interviewed Liverpool, the Prime Minister, who put them off with some vague promises. Moreover, Buckinghamshire, the President of the Board of Control and Castlereagh appeared cold and hostile and refused to countenance any change of the existing system.

The reluctance on the part of Castlereagh and Buckinghamshire was, however, related to the opposition of the Directors of the East India Company, who produced an imposing amount of evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons against the despatch of missionaries to India by important people who had long experiences of India and were esteemed highly by their countrymen. All emphasised the unfavourable political consequences that would follow the episcopal establishment in India. Malcolm's observations were representative of the views of the East India Company officials who deposed before the Committee. While admitting the blessings which Christianity would bestow on Indians, he warned the Committee that its introduction into India would have the most dangerous consequences for the stability of the empire which depended on the "general division of the great communities and their sub-division into various castes and tribes" because all these elements would then be united in a general opposition to any scheme which they might think would lead to their conversion.

It was at this stage, that Zachary Macaulay, encouraged by Wilberforce, organized a campaign calling on the missionary bodies to send petitions to the Parliament for the unrestrained

despatch of missionaries to India. As a result between February and June 1813, no less than 837 petitions were presented. This extraordinary effort produced almost immediate effect. Liverpool and Buckinghamshire told Wilberforce that they were willing to establish a bishopric in India and to authorise the Board of Control to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed to India. In the House of Lords, the missionary question was not discussed at all, and none took the slightest notice of the vast body of evidence which the Directors of the East India Company had produced against them.

Charter Act of 1813

The new Act renewing the Company's privileges for a further period of twenty years was passed on 21 July 1813. An episcopate with archdeacons was set up in India and Board of Control was authorised to grant licenses to missionaries to proceed there. The question of dissemination of education among Indians was also taken up into consideration and a Clause to this effect was introduced in Parliament by a former Advocate General in Calcutta and was passed after a slight modification. This Clause (43rd) empowered the Governor-General to appropriate "a sum of not less than one lac of rupees" in each year out of "the surplus territorial revenues" for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.

J. A. Richter, in his *History of Missions in India*, has suggested that the Clause 43 which spoke of the revival and improvement of literature and of the encouragement of the learned natives of India was created as "a reliable counterpoise, a protecting break-water against the threatened deluge of missionary enterprise" enshrined in the Charter Act of 1813. It is possible that the supporters of this Clause were influenced by the Orientalists in Calcutta who had been agitating for some time past for more funds for the maintenance of the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College, and for the revival and improvement of classical learning of India. In March 1811, Minto, Governor-General of India between 1806 and 1813, had sent home a minute which definitely represented and endorsed the views of the Orientalists in India. In that minute, Minto spoke about the decay and the neglect of

Indian classical learning and learned persons which could be traced to "the want of that encouragement which was formerly afforded to it by princes, chieftains and opulent individuals under the native governments." "It is seriously to be lamented," he had observed, "that a nation particularly distinguished for its love and successful cultivation of letters in other parts of the empire should have failed to extend its fostering care to the literature of the Hindoos, and to aid in opening to the learned in Europe the repositories of that literature."

While it is clear from the debates in the House of Commons and the House of Lords that by 'sciences' it was meant Western sciences, Clause 43 was otherwise quite vague. First, it is not clear what would be the maximum amount of expenditure on education and secondly, how to ascertain, in the absence of a proper financial machinery, the surplus in the territorial revenues. Since the Governor-General was the administrative head of the Presidency of Fort William only, the whole of the grant was likely to be appropriated for Bengal alone. Yet the Clause was important, inspite of its vagueness, in laying down for the first time that the dissemination of education among the people should be one of the tasks of the British Raj in India. It assumed more importance when one remembers that in those days education was not a state responsibility even in England, and except in Scotland, no public money was spent on elementary education, which was left mostly to the charity schools, the village dames, the private Sunday schools movement started by Robert Raikes and the personal efforts of individuals like Hannah More, "the bishop in petticoat" as she was then known to her contemporaries.

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Towards Education in the English Medium

The Court of Directors' Interpretation of the Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813

The Court of Directors informed the Governor-General of the provisions made by the Parliament for the diffusion of education among Indians on 6 September 1813, but did not send any specific instructions on the subject until 3 June 1814. In the first official despatch which showed the Court of Directors' conception of the nature and importance of the problem of education and the policy they wanted to pursue on the subject, they drew the attention of the Governor-General to the "two distinct considerations" presented by Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813, namely, "the encouragement of the learned natives of India and the revival and improvement of literature; secondly, the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences amongst the inhabitants of that country." They proposed to fulfil these considerations by encouraging the classical literature and sciences of the country through the long established Indian practice of giving "instruction at their own houses, and by encouraging them in the exercise and cultivation of their talents by the stimulus of honorary marks of distinctions, and in some instances by grants of pecuniary assistance." They discussed the question of establishing public colleges but summarily dismissed it as quite incompatible with the customs and mentality of the people, and asked the Governor-General Moira to gather information regarding the educational institutions of Benares, the traditional seat of Hindu learning, and to devise means for their

The despatch reached India at a very critical time. War had just broken out between the East India Company and Nepal and scarcely had the Company been able to conclude a victorious peace treaty with Nepal when it found itself embroiled in a war with the Marathas, then the most powerful of the Indian powers. Moira was therefore heavily preoccupied and the only thing he could do in education was to record a minute on his return from the North Western Provinces in 1815 showing his "solicitude for the moral and intellectual condition of the Natives and his anxiety to see established and maintained some system of public education."

Holt Mackenzie's Note on Education in the Bengal Presidency

Having enjoyed for the past three years, large surplus territorial revenues, the government decided to pursue a general policy towards educational matters in the Bengal Presidency and, therefore, took into consideration a note on the subject by Holt

Mackenzie, Secretary to the Government in the Territorial Department, on 17 July 1823. In this note Mackenzie drew the attention of the government to the necessity of adoption of proper measures for the moral and intellectual improvement of the people. He suggested that the introduction of European science should form "an early part of the general scheme and should be authoritatively indicated by Government as such", and that "the Government should apply itself chiefly to the instruction of those who will themselves be teachers and to the translation, compilation and publication of useful works." When these objects had been achieved, the more immediate object of the government should be to support and establish "colleges for the instruction of what may be called the educated and influential classes" rather than "the support and establishment of elementary schools." He considered it impossible to provide for the education of the great body of people under the existing conditions. He advocated the formation of an "Association of Oriental learning with European Science and the general introduction of the latter, without any attempt arbitrarily to supersede the former." This implied the support and patronage of existing institutions as well as "a more positive encouragement to learned Natives, and consists well with the resolution to establish new institutions for the instruction of Natives in the learning of the East and of the West together." He preferred English as the medium of instruction, because its cultivation would facilitate the development of a community of language, and believed that the difficulties of introducing it had been greatly over-rated. He finally proposed the establishment of a General Committee of Public Instruction for giving effect to his proposals, as well as for taking into early consideration the various suggestions made by the Madrasa Committee and the Management Committee for the establishment of the Calcutta Sanskrit College.

General Committee of Public Instruction

Mackenzie's proposal to establish a General Committee of Public Instruction was accepted by the Governor-General in Council to make use of the sum of one lakh rupees per annum in addition to such assignments as had been already made by the government and were likely to be made in the form of "any endowments" by individuals for the purposes laid down in the Clause 43 of the

Charter Act of 1813. The Committee which was accordingly constituted with W.H. Harrington as President and H.H. Wilson as Secretary consisted of ten members. Most of these members were Oriental scholars of repute and the only whole-hearted champion of "English Education" was Holt Mackenzie. Lumsden, a man of experience in educational matters and an advocate of the introduction of European science among Indians was not included in the Committee. All the members held high positions in the government and so they had little time or inclination to give much thought to their newly assigned and unremunerative task. Moreover, none of them was particularly fit to determine an educational policy. They had spent practically the whole of their official career in the civil, medical or military service and now they found themselves suddenly elevated to the position of experts on educational matters. Besides, their official experience had taught them to pay a great deal of consideration to the religious prejudices of Indians, which the government had always been at great pains not to rouse. The Committee, therefore, was ever apprehensive of hurting the sentiments of the people and never wanted to take any steps which might create antagonism. Consequently, as a rule it awaited rather than anticipated events. The Committee often carried this policy of conciliating Indian opinion far beyond reasonable limits even when the Indians themselves wanted the policy to be otherwise. Hence the Committee's educational policy between 1823 and 1826 degenerated into a confused and confusing series of experiments which were often abandoned whilst still incomplete. Among such activities of the General Committee of Public Instruction were the recognition of the Calcutta Madrasa and the Benares Sanskrit College; establishment of a Sanskrit College at Calcutta and two more Oriental colleges at Agra and at Delhi; provision for financial assistance to some *Tols* and *Madrasahs*; and finally employment of Oriental scholars to translate English books containing useful knowledge into Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and undertaking the task of printing and publication of Oriental manuscripts.

Resistance to the General Committee of Public Instruction's Programmes

There is no doubt that the activities of the General Committee of Public Instruction formed in 1823 to disburse the grant on education were quite in keeping with the spirit of the interpreta-

tion of Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 by the Court of Directors in their despatch of 3 June 1814 as well as by the Governor-General in his minute of 1815 but they certainly ran counter to the forces of history generated in India and England.

One such force generated in India was the impact created by the coming of the missionaries to India. Ever since the creation of the East India Company in England in 1709, the missionaries were attracted to India for its prospects for the propagation of the Gospel. When the East India Company was just a trading concern, it used to permit and occasionally encourage such missionary activities in their areas. In South India by the late eighteenth century the Royal Danish Mission headed by such indefatigable missionaries like Ziegenbalg, Kiernander and Swartz had opened charity schools which taught Gospel to Indians through its translation in local vernaculars and had English classes attached to them not only for the children of the Company officials who could not afford to go to England, but also for the Eurasians and the Indian converts. After the Charter Act of 1813 had removed all restrictions imposed on the entry of the missionaries in India by the East India Company when it became a territorial power, many of the missionary organizations in Europe and America became active again. In Bengal, in 1818, the Baptist Missionary Society founded the Serampore College to train Indians, both Christians and non-Christians, in the arts and sciences of the West, and obtained a Danish Charter in 1827 for conferring degrees. The Serampore Mission established in 1816 the Institution for the Encouragement of Native Schools in India, and as directed by the Marquess of Hastings, extended its activities to Ajmer in Rajasthan. Under the auspices of the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society established in 1817, Captain James Stewart established schools at Calcutta, Burdwan, Khulna and Krishnanagar in Bengal and at Agra, Chunar and Meerut. The Church Missionary Society founded the Bishop College in 1820 at Shibpur (Howrah) in honour of Bishop Middleton, the first Bishop of Calcutta. The 36 schools, opened by the London Missionary Society between 1814 and 1818 and attended by nearly 3,000 children in and around Chinsurah, functioned well "as a joint Government-Missionary enterprise in the field of vernacular education in Bengal." Both the Church Missionary Society and the London Missionary Society extended their activities in vernacular

schools to other parts of British India as well. In the Bombay Presidency, the London Missionary Society selected some towns in Gujarat while the Church Missionary Society was active in the districts of Poona, Thane, Bassein and even in Sind. The American Marathi Mission started its work in 1813 and two years later opened a school for boys. In the Madras Presidency in 1817 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge established nine schools with a strength of 283 children and the Wesleyan Mission, starting its work in 1819, established two schools in the Madras city—one of them at Raypet which later grew to be the present Raypet College. Four years later in 1823 the same Mission established two more schools at Nagapattam.

The activities of the various missionary organizations received a new momentum and a new direction with the arrival of the Scottish Missionary, Alexander Duff, sent to India by the Church of Scotland in 1829. Hitherto the missionary efforts—the major part of which was spent in compiling and publishing grammars and dictionaries of the different languages of India as well as translating the Bible—resulted in proselytization only in the Indian lower classes. Duff held that the salvation of India depended on what the Bible could offer and hence the upper classes must be brought into contact with the missionaries through Western education, “inseparable from the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts and evidence.” With that end in view, he set up the General Assembly’s Institution at Calcutta in 1830, out of which emerged the present Scottish Church College. Duff’s institution imparted Western learning through the medium of English and made the study of the Bible a compulsory course for all who joined it.

The second force generated as a result of Clause 43 of the Charter Act was the emergence of a middle class in the capital cities of British India—Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. As English was fast becoming a language of the rulers, many Indians soon discovered that a capacity to speak and write English helped them materially. With increasing clerical posts in the growing British establishments, including some mercantile establishments which were fast coming up since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the knowledge of English proved to be useful. While the ordinary men were concerned with the material benefits of the knowledge of English, some educated and liberal minded Indians, through

their long interaction with the Europeans in Calcutta, had realised the futility of pursuing a system of exclusively classical education and the great possibilities which a knowledge of the language and literature of the West afforded. Hence, they were anxious for the diffusion of European education and English language among their countrymen. Of these the most prominent was Rammohan Roy, a retired Revenue Officer of the Company. Born in 1774 in an aristocratic and well-to-do Hindu family of West Bengal, Rammohan had, early in life, developed a profound detestation for the heathenism and gross superstition into which the Hindu religion had degenerated. When he was only 16 years old, he had written a pamphlet denouncing the existing forms of religion, which had resulted in his expulsion from home. Though temporarily reconciled to his family later, he could never accustom himself to the existing customs of the society. He, therefore, devoted himself to the study of the different languages of Asia and Europe and the scriptures of different religious system, in order to discover the "True Religion." Those studies together with his close connection with the Europeans and especially the missionaries, as well as persecution by his fellow religionists, ultimately led to his severance from the orthodox fold; and thenceforth he devoted himself to the teaching of Vedic Monotheism. He was thus admirably suited, not only to lead the advanced sections of the Indians but also to act as the intermediary between them and those Europeans like David Hare, a watch-maker by profession, who had come to India in 1800 and was solicitous of the well-being of the Indians. In 1815 Roy and Hare drew up a plan for an English institution at Calcutta and though Roy had to withdraw at the last stage because of opposition from orthodox Hindus to his professed religion, the school was opened on 20 January 1817, with 20 scholars receiving tuition in English, Bengali and Persian. A. Howell truly remarks in his *Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-71* that "the foundation of this college marks an important era in the history of education in India, the first spontaneous desire manifested by the natives in the country for instruction in English and the literature of Europe." This was followed by the creation, through the combined efforts of the Indians, Europeans and the missionaries, of the Calcutta School Book Society and in 1819 the Calcutta School Society. The former was to promote "the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives by diffu-

sion among them of useful elementary knowledge", and the latter to open schools in Calcutta and its vicinity and to prepare teachers for the improvement of the indigenous schools. As early as 1821, the Calcutta School Society had 115 vernacular schools with a total strength of 3,328 pupils under its umbrella.

The third force emerged in England when, simultaneous with this development in vernacular and English education in British India, utilitarianism was fast becoming a dominant influence in British society in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. In 1818, Sir Francis Burdett, at the zenith of his patriotism, applied to Bentham for assistance in framing a series of resolutions embracing the principles of radical reform which he wanted to place before the House of Commons. His resolutions were defeated but since that time Burdett became the spokesman of Bentham in and outside Parliament. And as Bowring observes: "Benthamism had in like manner been quickly carried off by less prominent characters and deposited unnoticed in public mind, there to strike root. He [Bentham] co-operated with the enemies of slavery in every land, with the humanizers of the penal codes, with the advocates of universal education. In his intellectual armoury were stored up implements fitted for the purpose of them all, and everyman was welcome to take and use." Young states that "in discipleship or reaction no young mind of the thirties could escape their [the utilitarians'] influence. Bentham's alliance with James Mill, Mill's friendship with Malthus and Ricardo had created a party, almost a sect with formularies as compact as the Evangelical theology and conclusions no less exorable." The impact of the development of utilitarianism was seen on a number of youngmen who had just grown up into active employment and it was they who became the most efficient agents in the realization of Bentham's principles. Many among them were now sent out to India in the employ of the East India Company. Secondly, it was James Mill, the faithful lieutenant of Jeremy Bentham who questioned the values of the Indian society and disagreed with Hastings, Jones, Wilkins and Wilson in their admiration of these in his *History of British India* which he undertook in 1806 and finished in 1817. The work obtained for him not only his reputation as a historian but also an appointment in the East India House, as well as of his more famous son, John Stuart Mill later, which led to the establishment of utilitarian influence in the headquarters of the

East India Company. James Mill found nothing to praise in the Indian institutions, nothing to admire in the values of the Indian society and religion and saw almost nothing which appeared to him worth preserving. He considered Indian society to be static and stagnant. And so he suggested its reform on the Benthamite principles and pointed out that the key to progress lay in the introduction of Western science and knowledge.

These forces of change developing in India and in Great Britain soon began to resist the activities of the General Committee of Public Instruction. As soon as the proposal of the Committee to establish a Sanskrit College at Calcutta came to be known, it was opposed. In a letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of Bengal, on 11 December 1823, Rammohan Roy pointed out that the proposed Sanskrit College "would impart such knowledge as is already current in India" thereby impeding the progress of the English education in India. He suggested that the proposal for establishing a Sanskrit College in Calcutta should be abandoned and the Government should "promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction: embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe and providing a college furnished with accessory, books, instruments and other apparatus." However, Rammohan Roy's protests bore no immediate fruit and the Government opened a Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 1824 and another College at Delhi for "instruction in the three classical languages of India."

A still more formidable attack on the Committee's work came from the headquarters of the East India Company in London. In a despatch of 18 February 1824 which bore Mill's stamp, the Directors wrote: "We apprehend that the plan of the institutions to the improvement of which our attention is now directed was originally and fundamentally erroneous. The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning, but useful learning.... In professing, on the other hand, to establish seminaries for the purpose of teaching mere Hindu or mere Mohamadan literature, you bound yourselves to teach a great deal of what was frivolous, not a little of what was purely mischievous, a small remained indeed in which utility was in any way concerned."

The Committee which was in close touch with the view of the *Pandits* hesitated to embark on so large a measure of innovation and in a letter of 18 August 1824 informed the Governor-General that the Hindus and Muslims had vigorous prejudices against European learning; that Oriental literature was not to be summarily condemned and that it had a utility of its own; that the use of a classical language as a medium of instruction was unavoidable; that there were neither books nor teachers available just then to impart instruction in European sciences through such a medium; that the Committee was concentrating on the preparation of such books and the training of such teachers; and that before long the Directors' instructions would be fully complied with.

The Committee however went ahead with its work of promoting Oriental learning in India. The only fall out of the Directors' letter at that moment was the addition of English classes to the Calcutta Madrasa in 1824 and following another from them on 5 September 1827 which stressed the need "to prepare a body of individuals for discharging public duties", English classes were also added to the Calcutta Sanskrit College (1827) and the Delhi College (1828). By 1828 however a new Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck had arrived on the scene. He was undoubtedly affected by the contemporary utilitarianism in England. In a farewell dinner at Grote's house, just on the eve of his departure for India as Governor-General in December 1827, he had said to James Mill, "I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you, that will be Governor-General." A man of great energy and vigour, Bentinck utilised the long period of peace enjoyed by his government in tackling every problem that his administration faced in India—he was the person who made *sati* illegal in 1829 and took steps to stop other social evils like *thugi* and infanticide. In a letter to the General Committee of Public Instruction on 26 June 1829, he observed: "It is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country, and that it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project." As a respect to the wishes of the Governor-General, the Committee added English classes to the Benares Sanskrit College in 1830 thereby providing for English classes in all the important Oriental institutions at Calcutta, Delhi

and Benares. However, events outside the control of the Committee soon happened and they overtook the Committee's zeal for promoting Oriental Institutions and learning in India.

By 1830, the General Committee of Public Instruction which consisted of ten members had among them some youngmen who were profoundly influenced by the utilitarian ideas of James Mill and Bentham and were in no mood to support the Committee's work for promotion of Oriental culture and learning in India. With the departure of Horace Hayman Wilson from India in January 1833, the Orientalists lost one of their staunch supporters while the Charter Act of 1833 which renewed the Company's privileges for a further period of twenty years brought Macaulay as Law Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India to the shore of India on 8 June 1834. The Charter Act which bore the stamp of the age of English liberalism by its abolition of the commercial privileges of the Company and by its declaration that "no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour" increased the educational grant of rupees one lakh in 1813 to rupees ten lakh (£ 1,00,000)* per year.

Macaulay's Minute on 2 February 1835

Immediately after Macaulay's arrival in India, as the Law Member of his Council, Bentinck appointed him as the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for his known intellectual attainments. Macaulay, whose interest in consolidating the British empire by the propagation of English laws and English culture began quite early in his life, grew up, being the son of Zachary Macaulay, in the circle of the Clapham Evangelists. Initially he did not take part in the controversy of the Committee. It was only when the Orientalists as well as the Anglicists decided to approach Bentinck after their failure to come to a decision on the future education policy of the government (occasioned by the question of converting the Calcutta Madrasa into an institution of Western learning as well as of reorganising the Agra College on the model of the Hindu College in Calcutta) that he drew up a long and elaborate minute championing the cause of English education in

* Contemporary rate of exchange for Rs. 10 was £1.

his usual characteristic prose marked by rhetoric and antithesis on 2 February 1835 at the suggestion of Bentinck.

Macaulay argued that the word "literature" occurring under Clause 43 of the Charter Act of 1813 could be interpreted to mean English literature, that the epithet of a "learned native of India" could also be applied to a person versed in the philosophy of Locke or the poetry of Milton and that the object of promoting a knowledge of science could only be accomplished by the adoption of English as the medium of instruction. If this interpretation was not accepted, he was willing to propose an Act rescinding Section 43 of the Charter. He was against the continuance of institutions of Oriental learning and suggested that these should be closed as they did not serve any useful purpose: "We found a sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there if the result should not answer our expectations?"

On the subject of the medium of instruction, Macaulay pointed out that all parties agreed "that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can, at present, be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them." The choice of the medium of instruction was naturally left between Sanskrit and Arabic on the one hand and English on the other. Macaulay who admittedly did not have any "knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic" brushed aside the claims of these two languages to be the medium of instruction by observing that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." On the other hand, the claims of English could hardly be necessary to recapitulate. As he said, "It stands pre-eminent among the languages of the West.... whoever knows that language has already access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world

together.... In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East."

He referred to the alleged prejudices of the Indian people against English education and argued that it was the duty of England to teach Indians what was good for their health, and not what was palatable to their taste. He further pointed out that the Indians themselves preferred an English education to their own—as the crowding of the Hindu College and the Scottish Church College in Calcutta and the comparative desertion of the Sanskrit College and the Madrasa in the same city inspite of its stipends showed. He also mentioned that while the Committee of Public Instruction was finding it hard to dispose of the Oriental publications, the English books of the Calcutta School Book Society were selling in thousands. "The question now before us," Macaulay observed, "is simply whether when it is in our own power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal experience, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize school philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding house, history abounding in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Macaulay suggested that the government should not incur any heavy expenditure on the maintenance of Oriental institutions of learning which could be used for the promotion of English education. If Sanskrit and Arabic were essential as the languages of the law and religion of the people, government should start codifying Hindu and Muslim laws in English. In one respect Macaulay agreed with his opponents. He admitted that it was impossible to train the mass of the population. "We must, at present, do our best", he contended, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in

morals and intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich their dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the greater mass of the population."

Macaulay, however, was ready to respect some of the existing interest but would like to "strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been tolerated by us." He advocated that the printing of the Oriental works should be stopped, all Oriental colleges except that at Delhi and Benares—these being chief seats of Oriental learning—should be abolished and all stipends should be discontinued. Macaulay loosened his last shaft at Oriental education by declaring that "the present system stands not to accelerate the progress of truth but delay the natural death of expiring errors" and threatened to resign if his suggestions were not approved.

Bentinck's Decision on 7 March 1835

Bentinck gave his "entire concurrence" to the sentiments expressed by Macaulay despite Prinsep's note of 15 February answering some of the observations made by Macaulay on Oriental institutions and learning. In a resolution of 7 March 1835, Bentinck passed the following order:

First: His Lordship is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed in English education.

Second: But it is not the intention of His lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends.

Third: It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

Fourth: His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language.

And thus was taken the most momentous decision in the history of India—not to speak of the history of education in India.

Bentinck's order of 7 March 1835 came as a climax to the two important official steps he had already taken earlier—one was the decision to establish a Medical College at Calcutta to teach Medicine and Surgery according to the European system in English. This was more on the model visualised by Rammohan Roy more than a decade ago. The other was the appointment of William Adam, the Baptist missionary, to report on the state of vernacular education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

An Estimate of the Part played by Bentinck and Macaulay in the Introduction of English Education in India

In India Thomas Babington Macaulay is fully credited with the introduction of English education officially though the necessary order on the subject was issued by Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, on 7 March 1835, after going through a long rhetorical minute written by the former on 2 February 1835 at the latter's request. Needless to say, in issuing this order on English education, Bentinck put his own political career in India at enormous risk. For, according to the rules of the East India Company, the Governor-General in India could not initiate any important action without first obtaining the approval of its executive body, the Court of Directors in London. Since Bentinck took the decision within a few weeks of receiving the papers from the General Committee of Public Instruction, it was clear that the Governor-General did not have the necessary time to obtain the required sanction of the Court of Directors. In those days of steamship navigation, a despatch from Calcutta used to take not less than three months to reach London. This simple fact does not need the scholarship of a Spear or a Ballhatchet to prove or disprove that Bentinck acted without the authority of the East India Company in London. Writing on the subject more than a hundred years later in *The Education of India* Arthur Mayhew argued that

Bentinck took the decision without reading Macaulay's minute and was solely motivated by Macaulay's threat to resign. Such an argument is contrary to the image of Bentinck that has emerged through recent researches as a true child of his age.

Bentinck who came to India as the Governor-General in July 1828 was a firm believer in utilitarian principles. In a farewell dinner at Grote's house in December 1827 just on the eve of his departure for India, he had said to James Mill: "I am going to British India but I shall not be Governor-General. It is you that will be Governor-General." A man of great energy, vigour and action he utilised the long period of peace enjoyed by his government to tackle every problem that his administration faced in India—he was the person who made *Sati* illegal in 1829 and took steps to stop other social evils like *Thugi* and infanticide. He believed that it was English education alone which could cure Indian society of its various evils. In a letter to Metcalfe in September 1829 he described "the British language" [sic] as "the key of all improvements". Acting on his firm belief he took every step to widen the use of the English language in official work. He also persuaded young Indians to learn English by throwing open subordinate positions in judicial and revenue branches to the English educated young men though mainly as a measure of economy. In a letter to the General Committee of Public Instruction on 26 June 1829 he observed: "It is the wish and admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country, and that it will omit no opportunity of giving every reasonable and practical degree of encouragement to the execution of this project." As a mark of respect to the wishes of the Governor-General, the General Committee of Public Instruction added English classes to the Benares Sanskrit College in 1830 thereby providing for English classes in all the important Oriental institutions in Calcutta, Delhi and Benares.

A gradual replacement of Persian by English in all official works as well as the spread of English language in educational institutions—these were the twin objects that Bentinck kept before him from the very beginning of his term as the Governor-General of India. His official position did not allow him to support the evangelists in India directly but he was sympathetic to those missionaries who took utmost care in the use of English in

their educational institutions. He helped Alexander Duff, the Scottish missionary, to set up his General Assembly's Institution at Calcutta in 1830 which later grew to the still existing Scottish Church College. In "a Private interview" given to Alexander Duff in February 1833, Bentinck "heartily approved of the design of giving a higher education to a select few, in preference to the plan of giving a common education to the many." He told Duff that "if there was one opinion on which he was more decided than another, it was the expediency of teaching English in all our Higher Seminaries, gradually substituting it throughout every department of government business, instead of the Persian which ought as soon as possible to be abolished."

One reason why Bentinck was so keen on introducing English education was because he considered it not only to be a "cure" for the kind of social evils that he had to deal with at the very beginning of his administration in India but also a key to the improvement of the country. In this respect he fully shared with James Mill the view that Indian society was decadent and the key to its regeneration lay in the introduction of Western knowledge and science. In a letter to Mancy on 1 June 1834, he explained: "General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India. The ground must be prepared and the jungle cleared away before the human mind can receive, with any prospect of *real*¹ benefit, the seeds of improvement... You will anticipate my entire dissent from those who think it better that the natives should remain in ignorance. I cannot regard the advantage of ignorance to the governors or the governed. If our rule is bad, as I believe it to be, let the natives have the means through knowledge, to represent their grievances and to obtain redress. If their own habits, morals or way of thinking are inconsistent with their own happiness and improvement, let them have the means provided by our greater intelligence of discovering their errors. I approve, therefore, of every plan by which the human mind can be instructed and of course elevated..."

Such a plan came through Macaulay's minute of 2 February 1835 as an expert advice on the subject and Bentinck immediately acted on it. Macaulay, whose interest in consolidating the British

1. Italics are Bentinck's.

empire by the propagation of English laws and English culture began quite early in life when he grew up as the son of Zachary Macaulay in the circle of the Clapham evangelists and gave evidence of it in his Parliamentary speech on 10 July 1833 on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, held similar views on the subject with Bentinck. And it will not be unreasonable to surmise that there had been earlier discussions on it either at the time when they were together in the Ootacamund in the Nilgiris in the summer of 1834 or at the time when Macaulay was appointed by Bentinck as President of the General Committee of Public Instruction in December 1834 at a time when the Committee was seized with the controversy on the future education policy of India. Assuming there had been no such occasions, it was still possible for Macaulay to know the Governor-General's mind through C.E. Trevelyan, a staunch Anglicist and a great favourite among Bentinck's officials, who was also married to Macaulay's sister. The threat of resignation held out by Macaulay if his recommendations on English education were not accepted was not a threat meant for Bentinck but a subtle challenge thrown to the opponents of English education in India.

The reason why Bentinck issued the order without obtaining the approval of the Court of Directors was because of the fact that following the return of the Tory Party to power in England Bentinck was contemplating his retirement as Governor-General of India by the end of March 1835. He did not want to leave the fate of a subject so dear to his heart to his successor and took immediate steps to decide on it on 7 March 1835. And he did so at a price—he earned the displeasure of the Court of Directors to such an extent that back home he withdrew from the affairs of the Company and led a secluded life. The Court of Directors on the other hand almost decided to reverse the order of 7 March 1835 by sending a despatch to Calcutta—the draft of the despatch was almost ready by October 1836 but was never sent as Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, did not accept the draft despatch sent to him by Carnac, Chairman of the Court of Directors, under pressure from Auckland, the Governor-General of India.

Macaulay's minute became a secretarial sensation from the very moment of its composition on 2 February 1835. It shot him

to further prominence in England and in India. Within four years large portions of the minute were made public by the zeal of Macaulay's brother-in-law, Charles Trevelyan and within hundred years, that is by 1935, it had been published either in full or in part on nine different occasions. The already great reputation of Macaulay assured the minute's notoriety in India,¹ and later his meridian fame secured its cordial reception in England. We must however remember that the minute did not initiate any new policy though it signalled the advance of a policy already pursued by Bentinck since 1829. It gave Bentinck the confidence to go forward on a subject in which he lacked the necessary intellectual, though certainly not moral, conviction.

Significance of Bentinck's Decision

Bentinck's order of 7 March 1835 not only opened Europe to India but India to Europe and signalled the advent of far reaching socio-economic and political changes in India in a none too distant future and as said earlier, it became a milestone in the history of India. As a matter of fact, Bentinck's decision of 7 March 1835 contained within it the seeds of another development besides the promotion of Western education which he could have hardly foreseen at that moment. It was the development of vernacular languages which Bentinck's Resolution did not mention and the Orientalists who lost the battle with the Anglicists soon began to argue that European education could best be filtered to the masses only through vernacular education and began to clamour for financial support for its promotion. In a sense, therefore, Bentinck's decision of 7 March 1835 while cutting at the financial roots for Oriental learning, paved the way not only for the emergence of English as the most powerful language in British India but also for the development of vernacular languages which the missionaries had been popularising along with English in their schools while propagating the Gospel among Indians since 1813.

1. During the freedom struggle in India, Macaulay's summary rejection and condemnation of Indian history, culture and civilisation in his minute of 2 February 1835 was used by the militant nationalist leaders to whip up anti-Raj feelings among the Indians.

The Decade after 1835

Orientalists supported Petitions against Bentinck's Resolution of 7 March 1835

The Resolution of 7 March 1835 could not finally settle the disputes regarding the nature of education to be imparted to the Indians. Macaulay's minute, though kept a secret, had somehow leaked out, and "in three days a petition was got up and signed by no less than 30,000 people, on behalf of the Madrasa and another by the Hindus for the Sanskrit College." The Muslim petition written in Persian drew the attention of the government to the fact that it was its duty to encourage the learning of the people and warned it against the danger of vexing their spirit, stating that it was "necessary for the Government to enlist the goodwill and support of the Mussalmans, as it was through them and from them that the Government had got their Indian territories." In this the Orientalists were supported by a large number of Indians, both Hindus and Muslims who, though they had been in favour of English education before, now thought that the exclusive patronage of English education would be the first step towards the ultimate Anglicization and conversion of the people. Moreover, however much they might have been anxious for English education, they were never in the least ready to see all patronage and support withdrawn from their own literature and science. Hence, they ceaselessly petitioned the government praying that the Resolution be modified.

The government, however, declared that the instructions imparted there would be adapted to future needs and expressed surprise at the needless alarm excited. It informed the Muslim petitioners that the Madrassa would be kept in its existing footing so long as the Muslims resort to it for educational purposes, and that "no one while he conducts himself with propriety will at any time be deprived of any stipend." The government also assured the students of the Sanskrit College on 8 April 1835, in reply to their petition, that the pecuniary grants would be continued to the present incumbents, although no new grants could be made in future.

Macnaughten's Minute on 24 March 1835

In a long minute of 24 March 1835, Macnaughten supported by H. Shakespeare and James Prinsep restated the Orientalist cause and declared that the falling off in the number of students was no criterion for the abolition of professorships and scholarships, because such a diminution might be of a temporary nature and if this criterion were adopted, it should apply to the English classes as well. He also pointed out that the government's reply to Muslims was inconsistent with the tenor of the Resolution of 7 March 1835, and observed that, inspite of the government's intention to abolish stipends they had been re-instituted at the Calcutta Medical College. Macnaughten further advocated the importance of using Indian languages as the medium of education in order to conciliate the orthodox section of Indians and declared, "the grand object...to be kept in view in giving instruction in the English language is not so much that few who make themselves masters of its invaluable treasures should be enlightened, but that through their means the light should be diffused over the whole surface of the society." He therefore advised the government to approach the Directors for further grants with which schools and colleges should be established at all the large stations for both English and Oriental education, whereby a knowledge of the literature and science of Europe could be gradually engrafted upon Indians.

However, the government had no intention of reopening the question. Unable to persuade the government, Macnaughten resigned his membership of the General Committee of Public Instruction. His step was followed by James Prinsep who had supported Macnaughten. H.T. Prinsep, however, refused to let the

matter drop here and carried on his agitation. Entirely concurring with Macnaughten in a minute of 20 May 1835, he bitterly accused Macaulay and Bentinck of not allowing any reply to Macaulay's arguments to appear on record. He ended by indicting the late Governor General with making nominations, before his departure, to the General Committee in order to ensure a majority for the Anglicists. The government, now under the administration of Metcalfe, simply decided to send a copy of the minute to the Directors.

The Orientalists attempted to promote Vernacular Education

It was at this time that the General Committee of Public Instruction tried to establish a system of vernacular instruction in the provinces. During the heated discussions on the Anglo-Oriental controversy, the claims of the vernaculars had been summarily rejected, because they were not considered sufficiently developed to act as the medium of instruction. The Resolution of Bentinck also did not make any mention of the vernacular languages. The Committee, however, did not give up the idea of enriching and using them for educational purposes. In its report for the year 1835, it declared, "it would be our aim, did the funds at our command admit of it, to carry the... process on until an elementary school for instruction in the vernacular languages should be established in every village in the country." This was a deviation from the policy laid down in the Resolution of Bentinck and the Committee, therefore, tried to justify its policy. It pointed out that the main issue in the controversy was the rival claims of Oriental and English systems of education, and therefore, the government's decision did not prevent it from cultivating the vernaculars. The Committee also observed that even if the government had decided in favour of the former, the mass of the people would have to be educated through their own tongues, and declared "the formations of a native literature to be the ultimate object to which our efforts must be directed." To achieve this, they thought it necessary, for the time being, to cultivate "some learned foreign tongue" for improving the minds of the people, so that the best educated among them would be able to translate English words into the vernaculars. In pursuance of this object, the Committee attached teachers of vernacular languages to many of the institutions.

The General Committee of Public Instruction considered Adam's Scheme for the Improvement of Vernacular Education

Towards the end of 1838, the Committee took into consideration the three Reports of William Adam who was appointed by Bentinck in January 1835 to enquire into the state of vernacular education in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Adam had submitted his first report in 1835, second in 1836 and the third on 10 April 1838, giving a complete statistics of the number of schools in South Bihar, Tirhoot, Beerbhom, Burdwan and Murshidabad till 1838. In the last 119 pages of the third report, Adam submitted his scheme for the improvement of vernacular education. Adam considered it impossible to introduce compulsory education and also rejected the idea of instituting model schools on a graded system, beginning from the village schools and ending with the Government Zillah Schools. In order, therefore, to encourage education without compulsion, he recommended a plan of "payment by result." According to this system, rewards were to be given on results of examinations. The teachers were to be the first ones to be examined. For the examination of these teachers Adam suggested the appointment of examiners well-versed in European as well as Indian educational systems. All the teachers appearing for examination were to receive travelling allowances and the successful ones were to be given certificates of distinction, made eligible to enter Normal Schools, and finally appointed Inspectors and Examiners. Adam also suggested that each teacher should be allowed to recommend some of his pupils for examination and those students who would distinguish themselves in the highest class should become eligible for filling vacancies in the English School of the district. From this close investigations Adam had realised that want of discipline greatly handicapped the progress of the vernacular schools. To rectify this he suggested three methods, namely, written directions, practical examples in the examination of the teachers and their students and the precept and example combined in the Normal Schools. Adam also proposed the use of the vernacular classes of the English Seminaries as Normal Schools. As a final reward, Adam suggested the endowment of each teacher suitably qualified under this system, after being recommended by two-thirds of the landowners, tenants and householders of the village to which he belonged, by a grant of land of

an annual value not exceeding half the average annual income of a vernacular teacher of the district. A teacher might be deprived of his land on complaint of not less than one-fourth of the persons who had petitioned for the endowment after an independent government enquiry. Adam rejected the idea of introducing moral text-books. He declared that the best means of inculcating religious education without arousing apprehensions would be without employing any direct forms of religious inculcation to cause the spirit of religion—its philanthropic and devotional feelings—to pervade the whole body of instruction on other subjects. Adam also proposed that the landowners and others should form a "village school association", which might develop as a nucleus for the "purposes of Municipal government, village police, local improvement and statistical knowledge", but he declared that before putting the scheme into operation the government should take a census and make an educational survey of the districts selected for the purpose.

The Committee found Adam's scheme of improving and extending the indigenous village schools impracticable and too expensive and opposed to the idea of filtrating education from the upper and middle classes to the masses. It, however, agreed to experiment with rural education on a limited scale in about 20 schools near Calcutta and suggested appointments of two inspectors to report on the progress of the schools. The Committee also suggested that the scheme be tried for three years after which, if no progress was witnessed, the scheme should be given up. But the government rejected the proposal and Adam resigned his appointment and the Directors while endorsing the views of the government declared in their despatch of 23 February 1842 that when sufficient means had been provided for the education of the higher and middle classes and a complete set of vernacular text-books had been prepared "then Mr. Adam's proposals might be taken up on a liberal and effective scale with some fairer prospect of success."

Auckland's Minute on 24 November 1839

Lord Auckland who, since his succession to Bentinck in March 1836 through Metcalfe as the Governor-General, had been watching these developments in education expressed his views in a minute of 24 November 1839. He frankly admitted "that the

insufficiency of the funds assigned by the state for the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spread and then means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all.... The sum immediately at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge in different forms contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain, that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been at once procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference to which I would point from these facts and observations is that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can reasonably be recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to commend general acquiescence and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which had been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings."

Accordingly, Auckland restored the old grants sanctioned before 1835 to the Orientalists and desired that the funds for the Oriental colleges be first appropriated for Oriental studies and then for English instruction. He then guaranteed the maintenance of the Oriental colleges and proposed to replace the stipends by scholarships to the extent of one-fourth of total number of students on the rolls of the Oriental institutions. He also sanctioned the preparation and publication of useful works for instruction in classical languages within the limits of the prescribed funds. The Orientalists were more than satisfied and Auckland could boast that with an additional expenditure of a meagre sum of Rs. 31,000 per year, he could close a heated controversy. Secondly, Auckland felt that the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the people could be effected only through the dissemination of European science and literature which, he thought, could be done only through the medium of English because the transmission of English education through translations must necessarily be slow and limited in extent. He pointed out that the chief inducement to acquire English education was still the prospect of earning a good livelihood and referred to the question already mooted of

training and employing educated Indians as assistants to the *zillah* judges in the capacity of *moonsiffs*. Auckland who was greatly influenced by the filtration theory impressed upon the Committee that preference should be given "to rendering the highest instruction efficient in a certain number of Central Colleges, rather than employing funds in the extension of the plan of founding ordinary *zillah* schools." He selected Dacca, Patna, Benares or Allahabad, Agra and Bareilly as the places where the Central Colleges were to be established. These places were chosen because they had a large population and were conveniently situated. He suggested inclusion of the study of jurisprudence, government and morals and encouraged the use of college libraries. One of the objects of these colleges was to raise a class of "inferior schoolmasters." He further proposed to link these colleges with the proposed *zillah* schools by a comprehensive system of scholarships tenable for four years so that the ablest students of the latter might continue with the higher course of study without being hampered by financial consideration. He also remodelled the existing system of scholarships in the Hindu College so as to enable the students to stay there longer. Finally, he discussed the question of the utility and practicability of using the vernaculars as the medium of instruction in the *zillah* schools but considered such step to be rather premature because of the absence of suitable vernacular text-books and qualified teachers. It was on these grounds that he declared that Adam's plan should be undertaken only when a sufficient number of school books had been prepared and when the scheme could be laid under a liberal scale under proper managements.

Implementation of Auckland's Plan

The General Committee of Public Instruction communicated its sentiments on the minute of Auckland on 30 October, 1840. It submitted a detailed account of the institutions under its control, the expenses incurred in them and suggested various reforms and adjustments. It pointed out that in order to render the existing seminaries effective, and to extend their scope a further sum of Rs. 1,40,471 per annum would be necessary. The Committee also stressed the necessity of recruiting suitable professors for ethics, political economy and jurisprudence which should be taught to start with at the Hindu (Anglo-Indian) College as the other institutions had not yet improved to the required extent. Since the

Directors had not communicated their sentiments either on the Resolution of Bentinck or on the minute of Auckland, Auckland adopted the measures without further delay and informed the Court accordingly.

The Court of Directors approved Auckland's Plan

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors were obviously watching the course of events in Bengal. In January 1841, still unaware of the measures taken by the government in Bengal, they communicated their approval of Auckland's suggestions. They deliberately refrained from re-opening the controversy, but while ordering that the funds of the Oriental colleges should be used exclusively for those institutions, declared that the great object of the government should be to disseminate English education as laid down in the resolution of 7 March, 1835. They however refrained from expressing any opinion as to the best mode of doing this because they held that the experience hitherto gained did not "warrant the adoption of any exclusive system." But the Court of Directors approved the plan proposed by Auckland and authorised him "to give all suitable encouragement to translators of European works into the vernacular languages and also to provide for the compilation of a proper series of vernacular class books."

Importance of Auckland's Plan

The importance of Auckland's Plan which had hitherto received less notice cannot be underestimated. His minute of November 1839 on education was not written during a period of heated controversy. Auckland, though necessarily outside the controversies of 1835, had been able to watch dispassionately the working of the system established by Bentinck. The system was frankly based on the negation of the cherished tradition and desires of the people who although anxious to acquire a knowledge of the European arts and sciences, were not ready to see their own literature and learning excluded from the government seminaries. They also feared that the withdrawal of the government's patronage from Oriental education was only the first step to the ultimate interference with their customs, tradition and religion. Bentinck's Government had grossly underestimated the difficulties which beset the path of English education and had paid no regard to the claims of the vernaculars and the necessity of providing for some type of

pecuniary inducements for the students. It had not tried or claimed to lay down any comprehensive policy, but had simply settled the dispute between the rival claims of Oriental and English education. The government, however, tried to act according to this resolution and found that it could not be worked. It realised that the two systems of education should be kept distinct and cultivated separately—and abolished the English class in the Sanskrit College. It found that Indians were not ready to sacrifice their own system of learning, so it had to maintain the existing Oriental colleges and also on certain cases to continue the stipends on the former scale as happened in the case of the Madrassa. The authorities also had to assign an adequate share of the proposed scholarships to the Oriental colleges. Lastly, the government was convinced that it was not possible to spread education among the masses through the English language and that it could be done through vernaculars only.

Auckland watched those developments for four years and grasped the whole situation. Although just as desirous as Macaulay and Bentinck to see the widespread diffusion of English education, he gave to Oriental education what was its due, and drew the Committee's attention to the necessity of developing the vernacular literature of the country. He re-affirmed the prospective abolition of stipends but substituted scholarships instead, because he realised that it was necessary to offer financial inducement to students. Auckland also realised that sporadic and unsystematic efforts would have but little effect on the development of education. He laid down a comprehensive and graduated system of education comprising of schools, to be set up in every district, and linked up by scholarships with the Central Colleges, that were to be established in all important stations. He was thus the first Governor-General to set up a real and comprehensive educational policy which, with certain additions and alterations, (as we shall presently see) worked until 1854. Auckland, however, could not put his plan fully into operation because of the outbreak of the Afghan War and his departure from India, but he took care to see that his plan was adopted by the government and the necessary financial provisions made for the purpose.

The General Committee of Public Instruction was replaced by a Council of Education

In 1841 the General Committee of Public Instruction tightened its control over the local authorities in education, but itself soon underwent radical transformations. The increase of the activities of the Committee as well as of its funds, led the government to consider the possibility of bringing educational matters more directly under its control. The government therefore assumed in 1842 directly the general and financial business of the Committee which was later replaced by a Council of Education whose main function was to be to advise the government on all matters relating to education. A newly appointed Deputy Secretary in the General Department was to act as the ex-officio Secretary of the Council of Education but the government changed its decision soon and appointed a Special Secretary to the Council. F.J. Mouat was selected for this appointment. While all schools and colleges in the Upper Provinces were transferred to the Government of Agra, the Council of Education was allowed to control all the institutions in Bengal. In 1842-43 the Council of Education drew the government's attention to the necessity of providing for proper inspection and supervision of the various institutions under government, and in 1844 an Inspector was appointed whose main functions included: (a) providing the means of diffusing a high standard of moral and intellectual education through English, (b) helping the students to acquire sufficient mastery of the vernaculars in order to enable them to communicate properly to the people the knowledge they acquired in the Central Colleges, (c) extending the means of instruction in the districts by establishing vernacular schools, or improving the existing ones and preparing a complete series of vernacular text books, and finally, (d) introducing a uniform and systematic course of study in all government institutions.

The appointment of an Inspector and the transfer of the institutions in the Upper Provinces to Agra Government were the only important measures sanctioned by Ellenborough's Government for the development of education in Bengal. He was much too occupied, during his short tenure of office, with the war in Afghanistan and was glad to leave educational matters alone.

Educational Developments under Hardinge

But a great change came with the arrival of Hardinge as the Governor-General of India. Although distracted by war with the Sikhs, the last great political opponent of the Company in India, Hardinge was able to devote a great deal of attention to educational matters and to initiate reforms and innovations of far-reaching importance.

Auckland, in his minute of November 1839, had drawn attention to the importance of raising a trained body of teachers and the Committee had suggested a plan for the purpose. But nothing was done till 1847 when the Council's plan for a Normal School for training the future teachers was sanctioned and a school, which was also to act as a Normal School, was opened in Bowbazar in Calcutta but the school had to be closed within two years when it did not fulfil the expectations of the authorities mainly for want of funds.

Vernacular Education

Another failure of Hardinge was in the field of vernacular education. In October 1844, the Government of Bengal decided to establish 101 vernacular schools as the funds for education had shown a monthly surplus of Rs. 3005.00. The government decided to make the collectors responsible for the supervision of these schools which were to be opened in towns or large villages provided the inhabitants agreed to build a school and maintain it. The students were to be freely supplied with books and tuition and the Inspector of Schools and Colleges was asked to draw a detailed scheme of study. In vernacular education the government seemed to be influenced by the views expressed by B.H. Hodgson of the Company's Civil Service and Resident in Nepal during 1833-44. In a series of articles Hodgson had asserted that the issue was not between English and the classical languages of India, and gave it as his firm conviction that "if any scheme of public instruction were really to reach the Indian peoples, it must take as its basis their mother tongues." By July 1845 the scheme was made effective to a certain extent at Bhagalpur in Bihar and at Cuttack in Orissa, and by 1846, 12 out of the 17 schools allotted to the Jessore Division had been established. However, attendance in these schools was very poor as the neighbouring schools, particularly the missionary schools, absorbed large numbers of students. There was also a

dearth of a better class of teachers as well as proper school books and by 1848 the government was hesitant to go ahead with these "models for the mass of schools... to extend generally an improved system of elementary instruction."

Higher Education

Higher education, however, advanced with rapid strides during Hardinge's time. Auckland had proposed to establish a comprehensive system of combined English and vernacular education comprising the formation of Zillah Schools and Central Colleges. In April 1845 Beadon drew a plan for its implementation providing for the establishment of five Central Colleges at Krishnagar, Moorshidabad, Chittagong, Bhaugulpore and Cuttack and suggested that for recruitment of students for these colleges, schools should be established in every district in subordinate connection with these colleges which would attract the students by offer of scholarships. Hardinge who was keen on throwing open the public offices to educated Indians—not only to induce them to take advantage of educational institutions but also to raise a body of subordinate officials at a reasonably moderate cost—readily sanctioned the scheme, which was later approved by the Court of Directors in August 1847.

Plan for a University in the Bengal Presidency

In 1844-45 the Council of Education drew the government's attention to the necessity of establishing a university with faculties of Arts, Law and Civil Engineering and on 25 October 1845 C.H. Cameron, the President of the Council of Education, decided that "the present advanced state of education in Bengal Presidency ... renders it not only expedient and advisable, but a matter of strict justice and necessity ... to confer upon the successful students some mark of distinction, by which they may be recognised as persons of liberal education and enlightened minds, capable of entering upon the active duties of life." A plan to establish a Central University on the model of London University set up in 1836, which would grant degrees in Arts, Science, Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering, and which would be "incorporated by a special Act of the Legislative Council of India and endowed with the privileges enjoyed by all Chartered Universities in Great Britain and Ireland" was forwarded in 1846 to the Government of

Bengal with the request that royal assent should be procured for the scheme. The government, although it did not altogether think that the time for such a measure had come, wanted the scheme to receive the favourable attention of authorities at home. One of the main reasons which induced the government to favour the establishment of a university was "the great and increasing difficulty of providing suitable tests for the selection of candidates for public employment." In May 1846 the Governor-General recommended the scheme to the Court of Directors, but he admitted to them that the government would have to bear the initial expenses. Nevertheless, he hoped that the Directors would sanction the scheme. In their despatch of 22 September 1847, the Court of Directors refused their sanction without advancing any reason for the rejection of the plan for the university.

Summing up, the two most important developments in education during the decade after Bentinck's Resolution of 7 March 1835 were, first, the final settlement of the Anglo-Oriental controversy by Auckland and second, indications of the lines along which future educational developments in the country were to take shape.

5

Education in the Presidencies: Bombay, Madras and The North-Western Provinces

In the preceding two chapters we have concentrated solely on the educational developments in the Bengal Presidency, partly because Calcutta was the headquarters of the East India Company in India and partly because Bengal was given supervisory power over Bombay and Madras by the Regulating Act of 1773. The head of the Bengal Presidency was called the Governor-General and the heads of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were simply called Governors. This also means that any innovation or action in the Bombay or the Madras Presidency was first to be approved by the Governor-General in Bengal before being finally sanctioned by the Court of Directors at London. When the Charter Act of 1813 sanctioned one lakh rupees for the education of the people of India, the entire money was placed at the disposal of the Governor-General. This, however, does not mean that in the Madras or the Bombay Presidencies there were no educational developments during the period between 1813 and 1848, or that education developments in the Bengal Presidency were simply extended to either of them. However, the educational developments in both the Presidencies were in fact inspired by the Bengal examples and ultimately had to fit in with the general policy approved by the Court of Directors.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Bombay Native Education Society

In 1818, after the overthrow of the last Peshwa at Kirkee, the Bombay Presidency was formed and Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Poona Resident, was appointed as Governor of the Presidency in November 1819. The Peshwa used to spend about Rs. 5,00,000 a year in giving alms to the *Brahmins*. It was now decided to stop this expenditure and to use a part of it in the promotions of *Brahmanic* learning. The Poona Sanskrit College was established in 1821 on the model of the Sanskrit College at Benares, established by Jonathan Duncan mainly to win over the *Brahmins* who had been adversely affected by the change of government. By 1822 the Bombay Education Society, established in 1815 by the Church of England originally to look after the education of Anglo-Indian children, found that its work for Indian children had grown considerably. Therefore, the special committee appointed in 1820 to further the cause of schools for Indian children was now formed into a separate society called the Bombay Native School Book and School society or, since 1827, Bombay Native Education Society. This body was solely to look after the education of Indian children, while the parent society continued to look after the education of Anglo-Indian or European children.

Elphinstone's Minute on 13 December 1823

In 1823 the Bombay Native Education Society approached the Bombay Government for grants. Elphinstone took this occasion to record a minute on education on 13 December 1823 to outline the government policy towards education in the Presidency. He observed that the method of teaching in the existing native schools should be improved and their number increased. These schools should be supplied with books and the lower orders of natives be encouraged to join them. He also suggested the establishment of schools for teaching European arts and sciences and publication of books on moral and physical sciences in Indian languages. Elphinstone suggested a close co-operation between the government and private efforts as it was impossible for the government to take the entire responsibility of public education on itself. He therefore advocated that while the government should assume the entire responsibility for opening and increasing the number of

schools, grants should be given to private bodies like Bombay Education Society for the purpose of improving teaching in schools, for which the schools should lay their proceedings before the government. Elphinstone was thus the first British administrator in India to initiate a policy of state initiative and control in education, the need for co-operation between state and private efforts, and a system of grants-in-aid. However he was opposed by Francis Warden, a member of his Council, who wanted to establish schools in every district for instructing children of higher and middle classes in English language and education. This difference of opinion between Elphinstone and Francis Warden was later to give rise to the Anglo-Vernacular controversy in the Bombay Presidency.

The Court of Directors approved the Activities of the Bombay Education Society

However, at that point the Court of Directors accepted the Bombay Education Society as the principal agent for the spread of education among the people and sanctioned a grants-in-aid to it. It was mainly because of the paternal interest shown by Elphinstone that the Bombay Native Education Society was able to give practical training to Indians in organizing and conducting associations for the spread of education. By 1840 the Society was conducting four English schools at Bombay, Thane, Panval and Poona and 115 primary schools, aimed at the diffusion of Western knowledge and science through vernaculars, as the Society in its report of 1825-26 held that "these ideas will be most easily rendered comprehensible to them by means of the mother-tongue of each scholar." In 1827 Elphinstone retired and the people of Bombay subscribed a fund of rupees two lakhs in order to commemorate his services to the Bombay Presidency. The Court of Directors contributed an equal amount and in 1834 the Elphinstone Institution was organized in Bombay to raise "a class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration in India."

Replacement of the Bombay Native Education Society and the Beginning of the Anglo-Vernacular Controversy

The policy of the Bombay Native Education Society on the medium of instruction was continued to be held by the Board of

Education which replaced the former in April 1840. The Board which consisted of seven members of whom three were to be nominated by the Society observed in its first report in 1840-41: "In a word, knowledge must be drawn from the stores of the English language, the vernaculars must be employed as the media of communicating it, and Sanskrit must be largely used to improve the vernaculars and make them suitable for the purpose." However, this policy of the Board was challenged by Erskine Perry, a judge of the Bombay High Court, when he became its president in 1843. He suggested that Bombay should follow the Bengal example and adopt English as the medium of instruction in higher education. This was at once challenged by Colonel Jervis and the three nominated Indian members of the Board. Unlike in Bengal, the controversy here was between English and the vernaculars. For two years the controversy dragged on till it was submitted to the Bombay Government for a decision. In April 1848, the Bombay Government passed its orders on the subject but they were extremely indecisive, and as Erskine Perry feared, "the different conflicting theories at the Board, which have already produced much inconvenience, will again be brought forward from time to time, and that each party will refer to this Government better as an authority for their views." It was this indecisiveness of the orders, coupled with the repeated pressure from Bengal that throttled the growth of education in Bombay in the mother-tongue in those days when Bengal Government's sanction was necessary for expenditure on education in Bombay. English was adopted as the sole medium of instruction at the college level while vernacular was retained as the medium of instruction at the school level.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Munro's Minute on 10 March 1826

In 1822 Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, ordered an enquiry into the state of education in the Madras Presidency and when the report on the subject was submitted, he found it at a very low level on account of the poverty of the people and indifference of the government. In order to improve the situation, he proposed, in a minute of 10 March 1826, the establishment of two schools—one for the Hindus and the other for the Muslims—in each collectorate and of one school in each *tahsil* (taluka) of the

Presidency at an estimated expenditure of Rs. 50,000 per annum. Munro died in 1827 and his successors lacked his vision and sympathy so that by 1830 only 70 *tashildaree* schools had been established.

The Court of Directors disagreed

In September 1830 the Court of Directors asked the Madras Government to concentrate on the spread of English education rather than on an attempt to educate the masses. The scheme of mass education further received a setback when in 1836 the Bengal Government recommended the withdrawal of aid from the collectorate and *tashildaree* schools and the establishment of an English college at Madras and of provincial English schools at some important places in the interior, if funds permitted.

Frequent Changes in the Administration of Education

In 1836 the Board of Public Instruction was reconstituted as a Committee of Native Education, later to be substituted by the University Board in 1841 which set up a high school called the University in Madras. The University Board was superseded by a Council of Education in 1845, which was dissolved at the instance of the Court of Directors in 1847, its duties being again undertaken by the University Board. Sir Henry Poffinger revived the Council of Education in 1848, only to replace it by a Board of Governors in 1851. It handed over its functions to the Department of Public Instruction formed as per the provision of the Education Despatch of 1854. A rolling stone gathers no moss, and as J.A. Richey has rightly observed in his *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II: "In view of the constant changes both in the policy of the local government and in the personnel of the authority whose duty it was to carry out that policy, it is not a matter for surprise that the educational activities of the Madras Government were not fruitful in results or that we find in 1852 but one single institution in the Presidency founded or under the immediate control of Government."

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

Factors at Work for the Improvement of Vernacular Education

In 1843 the control of the educational institutions was transferred from the Council of Education to the North-Western Prov-

inces of Agra and Oudh when it became a separate provincial government. At that time the educational institutions consisted of three colleges at Agra, Delhi and Benares and nine schools maintained by the government. In 1845 James Thomason, the Lt. Governor of the North-Western Provinces, addressed circular letters to all the revenue collectors, calling their special attention to the low standard of vernacular education and to the factors at work for its improvement. These could be found in the new revenue settlement there under which the right of every cultivator, whether land-lord or tenant, had been ascertained and recorded, and for the protection of whose rights a system of registration of titles to land had been introduced. Of course, none but those able to read and write could avail themselves of the advantages they offered to an extent, while to the full enjoyment of them some knowledge of arithmetic and of the principles of land measurement was requisite. There was "thus a direct appeal and powerful inducement to the mind of almost every individual to acquire so much of reading, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, as may suffice for the protection of his rights", as pointed out by Thomason's Secretary. This stimulus was absent in the Lower Provinces of Bengal where the rights of the cultivators had been swept away by the Permanent Settlement in 1793 and consequently Hardinge's scheme of vernacular education became a failure.

Thomason's Plan

When in 1846 detailed statistics about the state of education in the North-Western Provinces were prepared, it was revealed that "on an average less than 5 per cent of the youth who are of an age to attend schools obtain any instruction and that instruction which they do receive is of very imperfect kind." Thomason proposed the establishment of a school in every considerable village to supply this grievous want but this was not supported by the Court of Directors. Not disappointed by the Court's rejection of his proposals, in April 1848 he submitted another scheme—to set up a model school in every *tehsil* or revenue district in addition to the ordinary village school at the general expense "to provide a powerful agency for visiting all the indigenous schools, for furnishing the people and the teachers with advice, assistance and encouragement, and for rewarding those school masters who may be found the most deserving." There would be a Zillah Visitor in each

district and three Pargana Visitors and a Visitor-General were to be appointed from among the civil servants of the Company to supervise the working of the scheme. It was calculated that this scheme when put into operation would cost £ 20,000 (Rs. 2,00,000) per annum. For the time being a partial experiment confining the scheme to eight districts only was to be made. Thomason sent his proposals to Lord Dalhousie, the newly appointed Governor-General of India, for recommendation to the Court of Directors for their approval.

Missionaries and Enlightened Indians

Before entering the age of Dalhousie which undoubtedly made the most important contribution to the development of an education system in India, let us have a look at the contributions made by the missionaries and the enlightened Indians before 1848. We have already noted in one of the preceding chapters how the missionaries and the educated Indians generated forces which resisted the activities of the General Committee of Public Instruction since 1823 in reviving and promoting Oriental literature and learning in British India. Between 1835 and 1848 they made further significant contributions towards the development of education in the country. It would be useful to discuss these briefly here.

MISSIONARIES

Alexander Duff Model

The establishment of the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta in 1830 by Alexander Duff marked the beginning of a new approach to proselytization through education. Since the emergence of the utilitarians in the 1820s, the belief was gaining ground that conversion of the Indians to Christianity would be the ultimate result of the spread of Western education among them and so the missionary attempt since Duff centred round building up schools and colleges for imparting English education. Duff's faith in the potential power of English education as a means of proselytization soon infected almost all the missionaries working in the field of Indian education and English schools conducted by

missionaries began to multiply very rapidly after 1830. The missionary schools with their compulsory teaching of the Bible were able to attract the upper classes who desired to study English for the worldly advantages it brought. The missionaries believed that once they were attracted to the teachings of the Bible, they would embrace Christianity and would go to the people for further conversion in the Gospel. This, however, never happened though there were indeed a few cases of conversion of students from upper classes as in the cases of Madhusadhan Dutta and Krishnamohan Banerjee in the Bengal Presidency.

Opening up of India to the non-English Missionaries

The Charter Act of 1833 "opened up" India to the missionary activity of other nations as well. It was in this year that the missionary activities of the non-English missionary societies began in India. The German and the American missions were the most prominent among them. In 1834 the Basel Mission Society began its work at Mangalore followed by the Protesant Lutheran Missionary Society founded at Dresden in 1836 and the Women's Association of Education of Females in the Orient, founded in Berlin in 1842. Among the "well-manned and richly financed" American societies were the American Baptist Union, the American Board and the American Presbyterian Mission Board North.

Among the most famous of the colleges which were established in rapid succession in various parts of India under the direct influence and inspiration of Duff were the one founded by Dr. John Wilson in Bombay in 1832 which later bore his name, the General Assembly's School in Madras founded by Anderson and Braidwood in 1837 (which later under Dr. Miller became the Christian College) and the Hislop College at Nagpur by Stephen Hislop in 1844. In 1841 Robert Noble founded the Noble College at Masulipatam and in 1853 the Church Missionary Society founded St. John's College at Agra. These colleges were in addition to those built by the Church of Scotland at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Growth and Development of Missionary Enterprise

Richter has described the quarter century, 1830-57, as "the age of the mission school." As he observes, "During the period the Government, inspite of the good intentions of Bentinck, lay really in an apathy, which we find it hard to understand; for three years

Lord Ellenborough was Governor-General, a man who regarded the political ruin of the English power as the inevitable consequence of the education of the Hindus! Hence at that time the mission school exercised a dominating influence over Indian thought which it is difficult to estimate nowadays." The growth of missionary enterprise in education was greatly facilitated by the cordial relations that existed between the missionaries and the Company officials, among whom were many utilitarians with an evangelical outlook. For example, Duff was a very close associate of Bentinck who encouraged him to establish the General Assembly's Institution in Calcutta in 1830. Secondly, the apprehension that interference with the religious institutions of the Hindus and the Muslims would be greatly resented by them gradually began to disappear as the Company officials were often required to manage Hindu temples and Hindu religious fairs. The abolition of *sati* by Bentinck's Government in 1829 led to no revolt as the opponents of this reform had earlier pointed out and the Company officials became bolder than before in their support for missionary causes now that the East India Company had firmly established itself politically after outwitting the Indian powers and its European rivals.

The missionary activities in education varied from province to province and were most remarkable in areas like Madras where the Company's initiatives in the field were negligible. By 1853 the missionary activity in education was almost equal to official enterprises which had 1,474 institutions with 67,569 pupils. If, however, the work of the Roman Catholic Mission were added to those of the Protestant organizations, missionary work in education certainly exceeded the official enterprise. The missionaries resented the Company schools which did not include the teaching of the Bible and were more popular with the Indians. They were therefore clamouring either for the inclusion of the Bible in the Company schools or for direct withdrawal of the Company from education, leaving the field entirely to missionaries. The Company would be indirectly involved through a system of grants-in-aid.

ENLIGHTENED INDIANS

Prevalent Prejudices against the Western Education

Indian private enterprise in the new education was confined to those who believed it to be an effective agent of modernizing Indian society or those who had been trained in the new education and had found it to be a passport to new jobs which at once brought them money, status and power. The prevalent opinion in most areas was against the new system. Most parents initially refused to send their children to English schools because they were afraid that English education would anglicize them and make them lose faith in the religious beliefs and practices of their forefathers. They were also afraid of the spread of Western ideas through vernaculars as they thought the new education to be a part of some secret plan to tamper with their age old religion. Therefore the few Indians who wanted to set up schools for imparting new education had to work under this limitation and in most cases their schools, as in the case of the Hindu School in 1817, were the results of active collaboration with and support from European officials or non-officials.

Hindu School Model

Hare, who was one of the founders of the Hindu School, had realized that all the education enterprises of the time were dominated by religion and had been keen on setting up one, whose main object would be to emphasise the study of English language and literature. The model of the Hindu School came to be generally adopted by the Company as well as by private enterprises and the principle of secularism enabled the Company to maintain its policy of religious neutrality while the emphasis on the study of English language and literature enabled it to obtain servants for the government departments where English was being adopted as the official language. Indians also found it convenient to follow the model of the Hindu School because a policy of secular education involved no administrative problems and a subordination of scientific studies made the functioning of the institutions less costly and difficult.

Rammohan Roy who was associated with the establishment of the Hindu School but had to withdraw his name from the management of the school under objection from the orthodox Indians,

himself set up a school at Suripara in Calcutta for the free education of Hindu boys there. In 1822, he purchased a plot of land at Simla in Calcutta where he started another school known as the Anglo-Hindu School which was later named the Indian Academy in 1834. In 1818 Jainarain Ghosal started a school in Benares for the teaching of English, Persian, Hindustani and Bengali. Schools for teaching English were also started at different places in Calcutta and at some other places like Hughli, Burdwan, Midnapur, Dacca, Barisal, Santipur, Murshidabad, Rangpur, Allahabad, Agra and Delhi. As Charles Traveleyan observed: "In 1831 the Committee [of Public Instruction] reported that a taste for English had been widely disseminated and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya [Hindu School] are springing up in every direction. This spirit gathering strength from time to time, and from many favourable circumstances had gained a great height in 1835. Several rich natives had established English schools at their own expense; associations had been formed for the same purpose at different places in the interior similar to the one to which the Hindu College owed its origin."

Thus in 1831 Rasik Krishna Mallick, a brilliant product of the Hindu College started the Hindu Free School at Simla (Calcutta) where 80 students received education. In 1832 two wealthy persons, Kalinath Ray Chaudhuri and Baikunthanath Ray Chaudhuri of Taki started a local school for teaching English, Arabic, Persian and Bengali to the boys and placed its entire management under the control of Duff. Five hundred students attended this school daily and many who wanted to study there could not be accommodated. In 1834 Govinda Chandra Basak started the Hindu Free School which was attended by some 130 students in six classes and were examined by David Hare in March 1835. In 1837 one more institution providing free coaching, named the Benevolent Institution, was started at a village called Amarpur in Hooghly.

Performance of the Hindu School Students

The students of the Hindu College, whose number rose from 70 in 1819 to 400 in 1830, and of many other schools established for English education were quite serious about studies, and in the examinations occasionally held for them they acquitted themselves creditably. Commenting on the performance of the students at one such annual examination of a school at Bhowanipore, a

contemporary Bengali newspaper observed on 7 March 1829: "The students of Hindu College and of the schools founded by Rammohan Roy and Jagmohan Basu have recently been examined by Englishmen in English language. If we repeat the praises we have heard from these examiners we may be accused of flattery. But we may say that the Englishmen have been very pleased with the results of these examinations and it is their desire that the English education may be further spread in this country." Some of the students did really attain a remarkable proficiency in the English language and literature. Five talented youngmen of the Dutt family of Rambagan in Calcutta wrote English verses by 1848 which in the opinion of a contemporary reviewer were "distinguished by a grace and strength." A "gifted daughter" of this "gifted family" was Toru Dutt, the famous Indian poetess, who was born in Calcutta in 1856 and died at the early age of twenty-one.

The Age of Dalhousie, 1848–1856

The age of Dalhousie is the most significant age in the history of education in modern India. For the foundations of a modern system of education were actually laid during the administration of Dalhousie as the Governor-General of India between 1848 and 1856. It will be seen that the Education Despatch of 1854, popularly, and perhaps incorrectly, known as Wood's Despatch, which laid the foundations of this system did really emerge out of the various experiments and steps taken in education by Dalhousie's predecessors and by Dalhousie himself till 1853. We shall study this chapter under four heads: First, the educational experiments of Dalhousie till 1853, second, the making of the Education Despatch of 1854; third, the main provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854 and finally, the implementation of the Education Despatch of 1854 and its later endorsement.

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS OF DALHOUSIE TILL 1853

Dalhousie recommended Thomason's Scheme of Vernacular Education to the Court of Directors

When Dalhousie received Thomason's scheme for vernacular education in the North Western Provinces, he had not formed any definite policy on the educational problems in India. He was still new to India and was yet to acquaint himself with the conditions prevailing there. Nevertheless, he had assured the Indian people at the very beginning of his administration that he would "afford every encouragement for the development of native talent." Since

English had already been decided upon as the right language for administrative work, it was now "worse than a heresy" to argue for Arabic, Sanskrit or Persian for this purpose. He, however, knew the defects of such a system and the departures already made from it. And so he admitted, "whether the Education of India should be based exclusively on English, rejecting the vernacular or not" was a question which might admit of controversy as well as of experiment. Since Thomason's scheme provided such an opportunity, he did not hesitate to recommend it to the Court of Directors for their sanction which was readily given in their despatch of 3 October 1849.

Dalhousie agreed to set up a School instead of a College at Amritsar

When Thomason was busy with his experimental scheme of education in the North-Western Provinces, Dalhousie received a proposal from the Board of Administration of the Punjab, to set up in the newly acquired territory an experimental school or college at Amritsar. He accepted the suggestion to found an institution at Amritsar, "the Shrine of the Sikh religion and deeply revered by the Hindus, the chief seat of the manufacturers of the Punjab, the leading mart of its trade and the great repository of its learning", but pointed out that the institution should be a school and not a college since much more general enquiries and fuller information about the state of education in the Punjab were needed before any general and leading institution, as would be indicated by the title "college", could be founded. He suggested that simultaneously with instruction in the vernaculars, English could be taught there if a strong desire for learning it was felt among the very large population of Amritsar.

Success of Thomason's Scheme of Vernacular Education in Eight Districts

Meanwhile within three years after its introduction in the North Western Provinces, Thomason's scheme for vernacular education proved extremely successful. Since 1850 a considerable number of youths had been brought under instruction, the character of the instruction raised and a vernacular school literature had been created. The number of schools were raised from 2014 in 1850 to 3469 in 1852, the number of scholars had increased from 17169 in

1850 to 36884 in 1852. Elated with the success of his scheme in the eight districts of the North Western Provinces, Thomason now requested Dalhousie to permit him to extend it to the other 23 districts where a population "no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning" existed, "the same want prevailed", and therefore "the same moral obligation" rested upon the government to dispel the ignorance.

Dalhousie extended Thomason's Scheme of Vernacular Education to Bengal and the Punjab

Dalhousie was fully convinced of the success of Thomason's scheme and therefore recommended "in the strongest terms" to the Court of Directors that full sanction be given to the scheme of vernacular education to all the districts within the jurisdiction of the North Western Provinces. At the same time he felt that he would not be discharging the obligations as Head of the Government of India if he were to remain content with this recommendation only. In Bengal, Bihar and other Presidencies too "the same moral obligations" rested upon the government to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. He referred to Dr. Mouat's report on the vernacular schools in the North Western Provinces, where he had spoken about "the utter failure" of the scheme of vernacular education adopted in Bengal, "among a more intelligent, docile and less prejudiced people than those of the N.W.P.", as well as to his assurance that the scheme which had been best adopted to dispel the ignorance of the agricultural people of the N.W.P. was also "the plan best suited for the vernacular education of the mass of the people of Bengal and Bihar." Dalhousie therefore extended the scheme of vernacular education for the North Western Provinces to Bengal and Bihar on the recommendation of "the experienced authority" of Dr. Mouat and went further in extending it to the "new subjects beyond Jumna"—the people of the Punjab. He also asked for the views of the Governor of Bengal and the Board of Administrators on the subject while awaiting the Court's sanction to the scheme of vernacular education.

Dalhousie reformed the Hindu College and made it the Presidency College at Calcutta

At the same time he carried out elaborate educational reforms in Calcutta—he converted the senior department of the Hindu College into an institution called “the Presidency College” in order to distinguish it by name from all other local and private institutions and threw it open to all youths of every caste, class or creed and hoped to see it “expand itself into something approaching to the dignity and proportions of an Indian University.” He similarly reorganised the Madrasa by converting its senior department into the Arabic College as proposed by Mouat and suggested that if the Muslims did not object to the admission of the non-Muslims to the junior department and if there was any special reason for admitting them to it, they might be admitted.

Dalhousie thus laid the foundations of an efficient system of instructions for all sections of the community in Bengal. Hindu boys were to have learnt vernacular and English education at the junior department of the Hindu College and at its branch at Colootollah. Muslim boys would have similar facilities at the junior department of the Madrasa and at its branch at Collinga. Hindu boys would continue their higher studies in Hindu learning at the Sanskrit College while the Muslim youths, would follow up their studies in the Arabic College. And youngmen from both the communities, and of every community and class, would have an institution in the new Presidency College where they might obtain the instruction they desired in every branch of general acquirement offered to them. It was as such to be in reality what its name implied, a college, and not what all the establishments so called that he had seen in India were—“a compound of College and dames’ school.”

Dalhousie provided the First Official Support for Female Education in British India

While Dalhousie was thus supporting Thomason’s system of vernacular education in the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, he was also developing Bethune’s idea of female education as well as Thomason’s plan for technical education in Bengal. Official support for female education in India was unknown before him though many like Elphinstone shared Dalhousie’s conviction that the “diffusion of knowledge” among

men and women would sound the death-knell of many social evils which degraded the condition of women in India. It was believed that the scheme of female education would be unpopular and would be "looked upon by the mass, with fear and dread, whether Hindus or Mahomedans." In his report on vernacular education Adam pointed out that a feeling allegedly existed in the majority of Hindu females, principally cherished by the women and not discouraged by the men, that a girl taught to read and write would become a widow soon after marriage and the idea was also generally entertained that intrigue was facilitated by a knowledge of letters on the part of females. The Mohammedans shared all the prejudices of the Hindus against education of their female offspring. The Eastern ideal of female life was one of strict purity, seclusion and quiet domestic duty, and the literature of the classical languages of India was far too corrupt, according to this ideal, to allow of any teaching of it. Besides, it was also believed that the natives would rise against any attempt to "submit their women folk to the equalising and emancipating influence of public instruction." The government therefore "purposely abstained from acting towards its female subjects as it acted towards male" in the field of education. This is evident from the fact that in none of the general despatches relating to educational matters submitted to or received from the Court of Directors during the first half of the century is there any reference to the education of Indian girls and women.

Under these circumstances, the few institutions for female education that existed in the first three decades of the nineteenth century were owing particularly to the efforts of a few energetic missionaries and philanthropic private individuals. In 1821 Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson) was deputed by the British and the Foreign School Society to open a school for female children at Calcutta. In 1826 she had 30 schools and 600 pupils under her charge, and these merged in 1828 into a Central School under a Committee called the Ladies Society for Native Female Education. Other similar schools had also been established by the London and the Church Missionary Society but the state of female education in India was not very encouraging except in the Punjab. The first report of the Board of Administration in the Punjab pointed out that female education which was "almost unknown in other parts of India" was to be found in all parts of the Punjab. There

were also female teachers and female pupils who were drawn from all the communities—Hindu, Muslim and Sikh.

It was Dalhousie who by supporting J.E.D. Bethune's female school in Calcutta closed the era of official non-interference, and marked "the beginning of that of open encouragement" in "the annals of female education in India." Bethune had founded this school in May 1849 with a view to imparting secular education to girls from higher families who were conspicuous by their absence in the missionary schools. Bethune who was a member of Dalhousie's Council and President of the Council of Education, wanted to discover whether the time had come "when this important step in the system of education of the Native can be taken with a reasonable hope of success. I wished the discredit of failure to rest with myself alone, if my expectation had proved abortive and that the credit of the Government should not be pledged to the measure until its success was assured." Dalhousie approved of the course Bethune had adopted and even encouraged him to preserve the institution in the face of the strong local opposition by saying: "I truly believe that you have planted the grain of mustard seed; and that it will one day be a great tree which you and those whom we serve may be proud to look upon."

Dalhousie's belief was not unfounded. After one year Bethune came forward with a successful and encouraging report of his institution. In a long letter to Dalhousie on 29 March 1850 he said: how, despite all intimidations to his institution, the number of its pupils had risen from 11 to 30 and how it had encouraged the Indians to found girls' schools at Uttarpara, Barasat, Neebudhia, Sooksagar, and Jessore. The school at Barasat was attended by more than 20 girls primarily of *Brahminical* caste, two of them married. At the Government Vernacular School at Chota Jagooleah in the Barasat district, students were offered a silver medal for the best Bengali essay on the benefits to be expected from "Female Education." Since these schools were always facing intimidation (which he had to face at Calcutta), frequent applications were made to him for constant support and encouragement as the position he had assumed naturally marked him out as the patron of all such undertakings. He, therefore, suggested to Dalhousie that "the time is come when all that is needed to secure their complete success is a declaration on the part of Government that it looks on them with a favourable eye."

Dalhousie took up the suggestion from Bethune and acted promptly. He circulated Bethune's letter among the members of his Council for their views on the subject, making it clear that female education in Calcutta had his "full and unreserved approval." Bethune had indeed done a "great work in the first successful introduction of Native Female Education in India, on a sound and solid foundation" and had earned "a right not only to the gratitude of the Government but to its frank and cordial support." Both Currie and Lowie agreed with Dalhousie about the importance of the subject but Litter submitted a dissenting judgment: "Will it not involve—a dereliction of the principle of neutrality to which the Government (I have always understood) is pledged in like cases?" Despite Litter's views, Dalhousie regarded the support of Currie and Lowie on the subject of female education as "the beginning of a great revolution in Indian habits." The Council authorised him to issue necessary instructions to the Council of Education to supervise and support female education in India which was approved by the Court of Directors in their letter of 4 September 1850. The Court of Directors, however, declined Bethune's suggestion that Her Majesty the Queen Victoria should be the patroness to his school at Calcutta on the ground that the present state of female education did not warrant "such unusual proceedings."

In August 1851 Bethune died after suffering for a while from an abscess of the liver, speaking of "his female school as the anxiety that lay nearest to his heart." His original plan was to make over the school to Dalhousie later but changed his plans due to the critical state of his health and wanted to do so immediately as, "otherwise in the case of my death the whole must have been sold under the general powers of my will for the benefit of my sisters." Dalhousie who was grieved by the untimely death of Bethune realised that the experiment of his school was most likely to be rendered thoroughly successful if carried on for sometime longer "as a private work watched with the closer care" and so he requested his wife, Lady Dalhousie, to take it for the present "under her charge." Since the number of girls in the school was likely to increase from 40 and since the monthly expenditure was likely to increase from the existing expense of Rs. 650 – Rs. 700, Dalhousie was, however, anxious that the Court of Directors should support it after his departure from India. The Court wanted

to do so immediately but Dalhousie declined saying that he would look after the institution as long as he remained in India and only after his departure, it would go to the care of the Court.

Dalhousie developed Thomason's Scheme of Technical Education

While Dalhousie was thus supporting Bethune's idea of female education, he was simultaneously developing Thomason's plan for technical education in Bengal. In November 1847, Thomason had established a Civil Engineering College at Roorkee with Lieutenant R. Maclagan as its principal. It was designed to give theoretical and practical instructions in civil engineering to Europeans and Indians, with a view to their being employed on the public works of the country, according to their qualifications and the requirements of the service. Within a year of its foundation, Dalhousie realised that much good would result from training a certain number of youths annually in a well instructed class rather than a college for filling vacancies as they arose, and to meet the increasing demands of the department of public works. The establishment of such a class at each of the Presidencies would not be attended with great expense. Since the Court appeared to have sanctioned it to a certain extent at Madras and at the North Western Provinces, he would request them to extend their approval for such a system to Bengal and Bombay. However, the introduction of railways and electric telegraph as well as the construction of roads and irrigation works created such a great demand for civil engineers in the recently organised departments of public works in Bombay and Madras that Dalhousie changed his idea of establishing a civil engineering class to that of a civil engineering college in each of the Presidencies. Its primary object was to be the training of civil engineers of all classes employed in the departments of public works, and which was to be open to Europeans, Eurasians as well as Indians. In the Bengal Presidency though the Thomason College at Roorkee, where he had founded a scholarship in memory of Thomason who had died in 1853, was contributing a great deal, yet one college was not sufficient for the purpose. More so, because the college could not supply the lower grades of persons required in the departments of public works. They were supplied by the school founded by Major Maitland in the Madras Presidency. Dalhousie decided that in its junior department the

proposed Bengal College should be based on the model of Major Maitland's school at Madras and in its senior department on that of the Thomason College at Roorkee. He asked the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to submit details of such a scheme.

Dalhousie waited for the Court of Directors' Sanctions to the various Proposals he had sent to them

By the end of July 1854, Dalhousie was planning to set up a civil engineering college in each of the Presidencies in India to meet the increasing demand of civil engineers. He was thus on the way to share with Thomason the paternity of Technical Education in India. Again by supporting Bethune's school for girls at Calcutta he became the pioneer of Female Education in India. He had reformed the Madrassa, reorganised the Hindu College, both at Calcutta, and had founded there the Presidency College, open to all classes, creeds and castes, and which he fondly hoped would one day become an Indian University after "having elevated itself by its reputation and scholarships" and being "strengthened by the most distinguished scholars from other cities." He had picked up from Thomason, after his successful experiment, the idea of a vernacular education in India, "by means of Tehsildaree schools with Pergunnah and district visitors and with the Visitor-General to direct the whole", aided by the state. He had recommended to the Court of Directors for an extension of Thomason's scheme to the rest of the North-Western Provinces and to Bengal, Bihar and the Punjab. He had already received the report on the application of Thomason's scheme of vernacular education in the Punjab and had supported the principle stated by the Punjab Judicial Commissioner of grants-in-aid to the missionary schools in India. Dalhousie patiently waited for the approval of the Court of Directors to all these proposals he had submitted for sanction.

Dalhousie received Court of Directors' Reply

The Court of Directors' reply came quickly. It contained not a sanction to Dalhousie's proposals but a detailed policy regarding education in India which the Governor-General-in-Council must follow. Dalhousie's reaction to this was not only of shock and surprise but also one of satisfaction, as recorded by him in his *Diary* on 12 October 1854 and in his official minute on 19 October 1854. He entered the following observation in his *Diary* on 12 October:

"At the close of last year a despatch was sent to the Court proposing the immediate extension of Mr. Thomason's system of Vernacular Education to all the districts in the North West Provinces. At the same time a similar educational system was proposed for the Punjab, and the whole of the Lower Provinces. The Court have never up to this time thought proper even to acknowledge this despatch, and in the meantime they have sent out a mission, laying down a complete scheme of general education for all India; in which they not only do not enquire what the Government of India has effected, but actually represent what they have done as still left undone."

THE MAKING OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854

Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, was requested to frame a General Scheme of Education for British India

A study of the *Wood Papers* at the India Office Library, London, simultaneously with a study of the *Dalhousie Papers* at the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh, reveals that Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, was requested by the Court of Directors to frame a general scheme of education applicable to the whole of British India in a "proposed P.C."—a practice ultimately leading to the formation of a despatch to India. The occasion for this arose from the discussions that took place in Parliament relating to the Act for the future Government of India when great interest was shown expressed on the subject of education and a strong desire for its extension and improvement. "With a view to give effect to these feelings and wishes", the East India House supplied Wood with all the necessary materials to frame a comprehensive policy on education but told him that for this purpose it was not necessary that "the system hitherto acted on differing greatly as it does in detail in the several Presidencies, should undergo any great or violent change, but rather than the object should be sought by an extension of that system, in some directions, and by the use and encouragement of those Educational Establishments, unconnected with Government which have found much favour with the general community, but which have hitherto received no countenance or support from the state." In this connection the East India House which had already received by

November 1853 Dalhousie's proposal for extension of Thomason's system of vernacular education to the rest of the North Western Provinces, Bengal and the Punjab, drew Wood's attention to it: "With regard to the village schools the plan already acted on with success in the N.W. Provinces and in Bombay assisting and encouraging in the efforts of the people themselves for the improvement of existing schools should be adhered to; and there seems no reason to doubt that this mode of proceeding will be found adequate to the end in view."

Wood's Secretary summarised the main Points for him and wrote the Despatch

Wood's Secretary, who later became Governor-General of India as Lord Northbrook, went through the materials supplied by the East India House and jotted down the following main points: "The general result of the information showed that in the North Western Provinces alone was there anything approaching to a systematic scheme for educating or improving the education of the people.

That in Bengal and in the neighbourhood of the other Presidency Towns there was a considerable demand for English—which has been responded to by the Government.

That wherever practical education had been attempted, it had been most successful and that a very considerable private agency might be taken advantage of, if grants-in-aid were sanctioned.

There was ample information from which to draw up a general scheme—and to make Native Education an integral part of the ordinary administration in India."

It was Northbrook who drafted the Education Despatch of 1854 which was submitted to the Court of Directors for onward transmission to India. Many years later when Northbrook was consulted by Curzon on the eve of his passing the Indian Universities Act of 1904-5, he wrote to Curzon: "It is I who wrote the Education Despatch." Needless to say, the handwriting in the draft Despatch of 1854, confirms this—it was certainly not Wood's.

Wood took the Credit for the Despatch

Yet the credit goes to Charles Wood because he, as the President of the Board of Control, was requested by the East India House to prepare a general scheme of education for "the whole of British India." Wood who had written to Dalhousie on 19 August 1853

"to desire somebody to prepare a report showing existing matters as they are ... and also what is feasible in the way of extension" and to Marshman, the editor of the *Friend of India* on 22 November 1853 "how we could embark on so gigantic an undertaking" consulted many others in the preparation of the Education Despatch of 1854. In a letter to Dalhousie he named the persons whom he had consulted: "Macaulay, Lord Glenelg, Bayley and Prinsep, Marshman, the Church Missionaries, Berry, Mouat, Beadon, and everybody we could think of here, as having an authority on the subject, have been consulted and have cordially approved the scheme." In the face of this admission it would seem surprising that Wood should take the whole credit for the Education Despatch of 1854 for himself. In a letter to Colville, Dalhousie's Legislative Councillor and Law Commissioner, he boasted: "I hope to have laid the foundation of a great improvement in the condition of the natives of our Indian territories."

Dalhousie's Reaction to Wood's Claim and his Contributions to the Despatch

It was as a reaction to such statements made by Wood that Dalhousie recorded rather bitterly in his *Diary*: "The education despatch ... is a mere clap-trap put forth to the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood; whereby he seeks to filch for himself the whole credit of all that has been, or is to be, done; thus unduly detracting from the credit which fairly belongs to the Government of India and to the local administration." Indeed, besides adopting Thomason's plan for vernacular education in India, the Despatch developed many of Dalhousie's own ideas with regard to technical and female educations in India as well as his ideas of grants-in-aid and of the Indian universities, a model of which he hoped to see in the Presidency College. Dalhousie therefore could easily say: "the scope of the present despatch from the Honourable Court is more than sufficient to include within its sanction ... projects, which have been submitted by the Government of India." In short, the Education Despatch of 19 July 1854 is not a negation to, but an expansion of the educational policy pursued by Dalhousie and his predecessors in India.

THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854

The Education Despatch of 1854 is divided into 100 paragraphs and occupies in print some 29 pages in J. Richey's *Selections from Educational Records 1840-59* (Part 2) first brought out in 1922.

Objects of a General System of Education

What are the factors that led the East India House or the Court of Directors to frame a comprehensive education policy for the whole of British India? The introductory paragraphs of the Despatch provide the answer: "Among many subjects of importance, none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England.... We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character to those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust....

Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India. This knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and at the same time secure to us a large and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufacturers and extensively consumed by all classes of our population as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

Nature of Education and Medium of Instruction

What was to be the nature of education the Despatch wanted to impart to the Indians? It "emphatically" declared that the nature of education was to be the "improved arts, sciences, and literature

of Europe" and categorically stated that the eastern systems "abound with grievous errors." Since the Oriental institutions were valuable for "historical and antiquarian purposes" and since the cultivation of the Oriental languages was necessary for the study of Hindu and Muslim laws and for the improvement of the vernaculars, the authorities had no desire to abolish them. On the other hand, the authorities suggested that they should be improved and rendered useful. The medium of higher education was to be English, but it was not to be substituted for the vernaculars. As the Despatch pointed out, "It is indispensable that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people—whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a higher order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language—can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages." The Despatch thus abandoned the filtration policy of 1835. The Despatch emphasised that vernaculars should be cultivated in the Anglo-Vernacular colleges and English in the Vernacular and Oriental institutions with a view to "that general diffusion of European knowledge which is the main object of education in India."

Department of Education

The Despatch replaced the provincial boards and councils of education by creating departments of public instruction in each of the five provinces into which the territory of the Company were divided at that time—Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. This department was to be headed by an important officer called the Director of Public Instruction who was to be assisted by an adequate number of inspectors with the special responsibility of reporting on the state of inspected schools and colleges. The Director was required to submit to the government an annual report on the progress of education in his province.

Establishment of Universities

The progress of education as well as the requirements of the European and the Anglo-Indian communities led the Court of Directors to believe that the time had come for the establishment of universities in India. They, therefore, agreed with the earlier

recommendation of the Council of Education and suggested that universities should be established at Calcutta and Bombay and also at Madras and other places if there were sufficient institutions suitable to be affiliated to them. These universities were to be modelled on the University of London "as being best adapted to the wants of India." They were to confer degrees on candidates from affiliated institutions. The examinations were not to include any religious subjects but institutions conducted by any religious denomination could be affiliated if they imparted a sufficiently high degree of education in the subjects examined. Professorships were to be created especially in Law and Civil Engineering and "in various branches of learning, for the acquisition of which, at any rate in advance degree, facilities do not exist in other institutions in India." The Despatch also pointed out that creation of Chairs in vernaculars and classical languages would greatly encourage the study of the former. The Chairs in the latter were, however, not to be used for the study of religious subjects.

Grants-in-aid

Since the filtration policy was being given up, the Court of Directors considered how best "useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life" could be made available to the great mass of people. Such expansion was not possible by government effort alone because of the vastness of the task and the enormous expenses necessary. Therefore, it was resolved to resort to the grants-in-aid system which had been so successfully adopted in England. This aid was to be given on the basis of complete religious neutrality to all schools imparting a good secular education under satisfactory local management and government inspection. The Despatch also decided to levy fees from the students to encourage greater exertion and regularity in attendance, and the fees thus collected, it was decided, could be utilised for the benefit of the schools concerned. The Court of Directors hoped that in this way education provided entirely by government would ultimately stop and government institutions, especially of a higher type, could be transferred to local management while receiving aid from the government. It was also decided to carry out more fully Auckland's scheme of connecting the Zillah schools with the Central Colleges by a system of scholarships and to further extend it to the schools of lower description in order to encourage talented

students. Below the Anglo-Vernacular and Vernacular schools came the indigenous elementary schools which the Directors proposed to encourage by suitable grants-in-aid. They drew the attention of the Government of India to the particular plan of Thomason for encouraging indigenous schools in the North-Western Provinces, and recommended its adoption as largely as possible.

Trained School Teachers and Text-Books

The Despatch also paid attention to the question of providing trained teachers and suitable text-books in the schools. It was decided to establish Normal Schools and Classes in each Presidency, as soon as possible, on the model existing in England. On the question of the nature of text-books, the Despatch approvingly quoted the view of Adam that the aim was to be "not to translate the words and idioms of the native languages but so to combine the substance of European knowledge with native forms of thought and sentiment as to render the school books useful and attractive."

Professional Education

Finally, the Despatch appreciated the drawbacks of a purely literary course of instruction and recommended professional training in Law, Medicine and Civil Engineering. It stressed the urgent need to establish vocational colleges and schools of industry and the urgency of spreading education among women. As it observed in paragraph 83, "The importance of female education in India cannot be overrated and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given; and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction. Our Governor-General in Council has declared, in a communication to the Government of Bengal, that the Government ought to give to the native female education in India its frank and cordial support; and in this we heartily concur...." The Despatch visualised that the progress of education would not only provide the government with able, efficient and faithful servants but that the possibility of such appointments would also act as an incentive to the progress of education in India.

A Critique of the Despatch

Richter has described the Education Despatch of 1854 as the "Magna Carta of Indian education" in his, *A History of Missions in India*. It is true that the Despatch did not bestow on the Indian people certain rights and privileges in education, but some of the concepts of the Despatch like cultivation of Indian languages, use of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction at the school stage, institution of university professorships in some subjects including vernaculars and classical languages, Law and Civil Engineering, concept of mass education and that of secular education in a plural society like India were the concepts which are significantly valid in an independent India. The Despatch realised that the goal of education was primarily employment and as such vocational education as well as absorption of qualified Indians in government services was emphasised. It hoped that Indian private enterprise would gradually replace the government in education through grants-in-aid and would help develop an education rooted in Indian soil.

It is not the fault of the framers of the Education Despatch that some of the provisions were never carried out and that some were given effect to in a mutilated form, while some others, like the institution of teaching posts in universities, were implemented after a considerable lapse of time. It is however too much to expect that the Despatch, meant for the education of a colonized people by an imperial power, would visualise concepts in education which are the products of recent changes in the socio-economic and political structure in the world. As M.R. Paranjpe has observed in his *Progress of Education* in 1941 which has received wide endorsement from educationists like J.P. Naik and S. Nurullah: "The Despatch does not even refer to the ideal of universal literacy although it expects education to spread over a wider field through the grants-in-aid system: it does not recognise the obligation of the state to educate every child below a certain age; it does not declare that poverty shall be no bar to the education of deserving students; and while it may be admitted that employment in government offices was not the object of English education as visualised in the Despatch, the authors did not aim at education for leadership, education for the industrial regeneration of India, education for the defence of the motherland, in short, education required by the people of a self-government nation." Was India

a self-government nation in 1854? In the hey-days of British imperialism, it was not possible for the Despatch to visualise all these.

The most valid criticism about the Despatch was the one made by Dalhousie. As noted earlier the Despatch which "left nothing to be desired" did not recognise the various developments in education during the governor-generalship of Dalhousie and his predecessors which were given shape to in the various provisions of the Despatch, and as such "calculated to lead the world to infer an inactivity in the part of Government of India in the promotion of General Education with which it is not justly chargeable." As Dalhousie described it in one of his letters to his very old friend, Couper, it was "the shabbiest injustice to the Government of India."

Despite its drawbacks, the Education Despatch of 1854 offers us a platform to measure the changes in education in response to the changes in our society over the years since 1854. As H.R. James has correctly observed about the Despatch in his *Education and Citizenship in India*: "What goes before leads up to it; what follows, flows from it."

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EDUCATION DESPATCH OF 1854 AND ITS ENDORSEMENT IN 1859

Dalhousie, however, did not allow his personal feelings to stand in the way of the implementation of the provisions of the Despatch, which opened an era of "Anglo-Vernacular educational epoch" in the history of Indian education. He realised that "it contained, a scheme of education for all India, far wider and more comprehensive than the Local or the Supreme Government would have ventured to suggest. It left nothing to be desired." In January 1855 Dalhousie laid the proposals for working out the Despatch of 1854 before his Council and by February, he was able to report to Wood about the launching of the scheme. He expressed his hope that if he lived, he would see "the whole organised and in complete operation (so far as this can be affected at once)."

And he did not hope in vain. By the end of 1855 a distinct department for the superintendence of education was constituted and a Director of Public Instruction had been appointed in each of the five provinces with inspectors and others appointed in each of them. Provisional rules for regulating grants-in-aid had been

sanctioned for the guidance of the local governments. And finally, a Committee had been appointed for the purpose of framing a scheme for the establishment of universities at the Presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. By the time Dalhousie retired from India in March 1856 it was still engaged on that difficult task.

Need for an Endorsement of the Education Despatch after the Revolt of 1857

In 1857 the British empire in India was badly shaken by the outbreak of the Revolt of the Sepoys and in a despatch next year Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control wanted to withdraw the education policy enunciated by the Education Despatch of 1854 on the ground that some of the provisions like mass education, female education and financial help to mission schools might have contributed to the catastrophe of 1857. Hardly had there been any time to act on the recommendations of Ellenborough when the British Government in India changed. By Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The post of the President of the Board of Control was replaced by the post of the Secretary of State for India who, with his Council, was made ultimately responsible for the British administration in India. Such a major change in administration required that the new authorities should review the existing policies including those in education and either confirm or amend them as early as possible.

The Education Despatch endorsed

Lord Stanley, the first Secretary of State, wanted to ascertain how far it would be right for him to pursue the education policy enunciated by the Despatch of 1854. Stanley's Despatch in 1859, following a review of the Education Despatch of 1854 did not make any drastic change in it but after admitting that prior to 1854 nothing was done seriously for the cause of elementary education, it observed that the grants-in-aid system hitherto in force in spite of its success with English and Anglo-Vernacular schools was not suitable for providing elementary education to the masses. It suggested that the government should itself run and establish elementary schools and should, if necessary, levy a compulsory local rate for defraying expenses. There was no doubt that Stanley was

influenced by contemporary events in England, where the movement for the imposition of local taxes and the establishment of a system of public school had just begun as well as in India Thomason's successful plan of levying one per cent on land revenue for defraying the expenditure of village schools. In doing so, Stanley missed the golden opportunity of combining the efforts of two agencies in the field of elementary education—voluntary effort and local organization; and elementary education after becoming a sole responsibility of the government remained stunted in growth for many years to come.

Expansion of Education till 1882

The year following the Education Despatch of 1854 saw the growth and development of education at all levels—higher, secondary and elementary. We shall now analyse this growth and development of education under three heads: higher education, secondary and elementary education, in the following pages.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Establishment of Universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras

In January 1857 Lord Canning, Dalhousie's successor, passed the Acts of Incorporation which provided for the establishment of universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras on the model of the University of London (as provided by the Education Despatch of 1854). The preambles in these Acts of Incorporation establishing the three universities were identical. They defined the objects of the universities to be "ascertaining by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art and of rewarding them by Academic Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments." There was to be a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor and fellows, both *ex-officio* and ordinary, who together would constitute the "Body Politic and Corporate" for each of the three universities. The number of the fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be not less than 30. While the fellows *ex-officio* were to hold their fellowships during their official tenure only, the ordinary fellows were to be appointed by the government for life—vacancies in

their ranks which could arise only by death, resignation or permanent retirement from India in the case of European officials, or by cancellation of the appointment by the government. Among these fellows, "the teachers were present as it were by accident, not by right; and many of the colleges, especially those in the mofussil were never represented at all." Thus most of the fellows who were public men and administrators had little experience of teaching and knowledge of the problems they had to deal with. The university administration was run by a syndicate which was not mentioned in the Acts of Incorporation but its origin could be traced to an interpretation of Clause VIII of these acts which gave to the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and fellows, powers to control the university affairs as well as to make and alter by laws and regulations in general, touching on all matters regarding the university.

Nature of the Universities established

The universities established in 1857 by the Acts of Incorporation were affiliating universities and no geographical limits to the areas of the affiliation were indicated. Calcutta University, for example, functioned not merely for Bengal, but for Burma, Assam, the Central Provinces and Ceylon, and the affiliated colleges were dispersed from Simla and Mussorie to Indore and Jaipur, and from Jaffna and Batticaloa to Sylhet and Chittagong. A large number of colleges—government, aided and unaided—were affiliated to each of the three universities, but the rules for affiliation framed by the university were not very strict. Indeed, the first rules for affiliation prepared by Calcutta University in February 1857 demanded, for example, only that the college seeking affiliation submit a declaration, countersigned by at least two members of the university senate, enumerating the staff and courses of study for the previous two years and of the institution's ability to impart education upto the standard of the degree of B.A. Managed by their own governing bodies, the affiliated colleges were not part of the university. They had no control over their required courses of study and their only function was to prepare students for examinations conducted by the university. They were created mostly through the generosity of the government and philanthropic societies, missionary bodies, or wealthy Indians interested in spreading enlightenment.

Affiliated Colleges

The number of such affiliated colleges had risen from 27 in 1857 to 72 by 1881–82. The government colleges among them included the Presidency College at Calcutta, developed from the Hindu College in 1853 by Dalhousie; the Presidency College at Madras developed from the Madras High School; the University College at Lahore (1869) where European education was imparted through the medium of the mother-tongue and the study of Oriental languages was encouraged; and the Muir Central College at Allahabad, the foundation stone for which was laid by Lord Northbrook in 1873. The last two colleges later developed into Punjab and Allahabad Universities in 1882 and 1886 respectively.

It is interesting to note here that by 1881–82 Indians were conducting five aided colleges—two in the North-Western Provinces and three in the Madras Presidency. The two colleges in the North-Western Provinces were the Canning College established by the Oudh Talukdars at Lucknow (1864) and the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College established by Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh (1875) for spreading Western education among the Muslims—both of which developed into universities later. The three colleges in the Madras Presidency were the Pachaiyappa's College and the Hindu College at Vizianagram (1857) and Tinnevely (1861).

It was during this period that Rajkot College (1870), Mayo College, Ajmer (1872) and Daly College, Indore (1876) were established for the education of the Princes in the Indian States. Some notably missionary colleges were established during 1855–1882—St. Xavier's Colleges of Calcutta (1860) and Bombay (1869), Forman College of Lahore (1864), Reid College of Lucknow (1877) and St. Stephen's College of Delhi (1882). As these colleges, except the Civil Engineering College at Shibpur in Bengal were opened to impart education in liberal arts, in 1876 Mahendra Lal Sircar founded the Indian Association for cultivation of Science in Calcutta.

Students

The material advantages that were then attainable by the holders of university degrees attracted many Indians to higher education. In 1857 the number of students who successfully passed the first matriculation examinations of the universities was only 219 (Calcutta—162, Madras—36, Bombay—21) but by 1881–82 it had

risen to 2,778 out of the 7,429 candidates who had appeared. The standard of examination was very high and in the 1858 examination for the B.A. degree of Calcutta university, 11 out of 13 who took the examination failed. Bankim Chandra Chatterji and Jadu Nath Bose were the first two graduates of Indian universities.

Neglect of the Modern Indian Languages

In these universities the study of the modern Indian languages was neglected though in Bombay University a modern Indian language could be taken up as a subject from the matriculation to the B.A. examinations. In 1862 Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction in Bombay argued for the abolition of all modern Indian languages from all university examinations except the matriculation where its use would be optional, as no standard textbooks were available in them, and suggested greater attention to the study of the classical languages in their places. The acceptance of this proposal led to the discontinuance of the teaching of the Indian languages in the colleges and since their study was optional at the secondary stage, the schools also began to neglect them.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Increase in the Number of Schools and Students

The creation of the departments of education in the five provinces of British India and the provision for a liberal grants-in-aid in each province led to a tremendous increase in the growth of secondary schools in all the five provinces. In 1854 the number of government schools was 169, attended by 18,335 students. In 1882 it rose to 1,362, attended by 44,605 students. Before 1857, the missionaries were the main non-government agent in the educational field but soon the Indians began to show a keen interest. Supported by the government aid they began opening schools for their children and by 1882 out-distanced the missionary enterprise in the field. In 1882 the Indians controlled 1,341 institutions while the missionaries had under their management 757 schools. In Bengal the number of institutions under Indian management was quite large because they in most cases met the expenditure of their institutions from the fees charged on the students and did not have to depend upon the education department for grants-in-aid.

Medium of Instruction

Contrary to the suggestion of the Despatch of 1854, English came to be adopted as the medium of instruction. The schools prepared the students for the matriculation examination of the universities and the universities at Bombay and Madras followed the example of the Calcutta University which had since 1862 made use of English as the compulsory medium of answering papers in such subjects as Geography, History, Arithmetic and Science. There was no provision for vocational education except in one school at Bombay (1882) where students were awarded a scholarship of Rs. 4 per month while obtaining training in agriculture. The students were mostly interested in obtaining matriculation certificates either to qualify for clerical jobs in government establishments or for entering colleges where the medium of instruction was English—not merely because the department of education insisted on English as the medium but also because most of the colleges were either staffed or managed by Europeans—to earn degrees which would fetch them highly paid jobs. In many cases school managers themselves were willing to instruct their pupils through the medium of English so that they had the best opportunities of reading, speaking and writing in English. Thus except in the Punjab, the highest education that could be obtained through vernaculars was limited to the middle stage only. By 1882 there were nearly 181 high schools teaching through English as against four imparting instruction through the vernaculars.

Teachers' Training Institutions

The absence of trained teachers in these schools aggravated the situation—there were only two training institutions for secondary school teachers—one at Madras (1856) and the other at Lahore (1880). In 1882 there were 8 graduates, 3 FAs and 18 matriculates at the Madras College while the Lahore College admitted 20 students of any qualification higher than that of a first year's examination in Arts (FAs). There was no practice school and all the students, despite their differences in attainments, were required to go through the same course. In any case only a small number of teachers could avail themselves even of this imperfect training. Thus the three most important instructions of the Education Despatch of 1854—vernaculars, vocational education and trained

teachers—did not characterize the developments of secondary education during 1855–1882.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Stanley on Elementary Education

In elementary education it was the missionary organizations rather than the Company which held the field. By 1854 while only 36,000 pupils were educated in government elementary schools, the mission schools were instructing almost twice the number. The Education Despatch of 1854 had rightly therefore urged the spread of mass education through grants-in-aid but five years later Stanely's Despatch reversed the order and directed that local rates should be levied for the spread of mass education through government efforts. The Despatch observed: "The grants-in-aid system, as hitherto in force, is unsuited to the supply of Vernacular Education to the masses of the population; and it appears to them, so far as they have been able to form an opinion, that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government, according to some one of the plans in operation in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, or by such modification of those schemes as may commend itself to the several local Governments as best suited to the circumstances of different localities." The Despatch also suggested that "in order to avoid the difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an education rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all schools throughout the country should be defrayed."

Dilemma for the Provincial Governments

Stanley's Despatch which reflected contemporary opinion on the development of elementary education in England created a sort of dilemma among the various provincial governments in India. While some provinces like Madras and Bengal, and Assam, which was a part of Bengal till 1874, attempted improvement of indigenous schools, encouraged local efforts through grants-in-aid and created some government schools as models, others like Bombay, North Western Provinces, Punjab and Coorg solely neglected indigenous schools.

Progress of Elementary Education

As observed before, it was the success of Thomason's scheme for a levy of one per cent on land revenue, which was shared equally between the government and the landlords and devoted its proceeds to the maintenance of elementary schools in rural areas, that inspired Stanley's idea of an "education rate." In the decade between 1861 and 1871 this suggestion was carried out in all the provinces except Bengal where no cess on land revenue could be imposed even as late as 1881, owing mainly to the existence of the Permanent Settlement of land revenue which was held to be a legal bar for the levy of any cess on land. Elementary education had made good progress by 1871 and by 1881-82 there were as many as 82,916 schools with 20,61,541 pupils as against 16,473 schools with 6,07,320 pupils in 1870-71.

Low Literacy Level

In spite of such a growth, however, out of a total population of 195,875,127 in the whole of British India, only 20,61,541 attended elementary schools in 1881-82. These figures only reveal that the literacy level in India was considerably low compared to the growing population of British India in 1881-82. The indifference of the government officials to elementary education, provision of inadequate funds, and frequent diversion of money raised through local cess for educational purposes to other channels were some of the factors hindering the growth of elementary education between 1854 and 1882.

The Hunter Commission

A careful perusal of the developments in education in British India since 1855 reveals that many of these were not in accordance with the provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854. Contrary to the expectations of the Despatch, the government did not only withdraw from the field of education but also failed to build up a system of mass education through grants-in-aid. As a matter of fact, elementary education was much neglected at the expense of secondary and higher education. All these were certainly grounds for a review of the educational developments in the country since 1855 but the matter was actually hastened by the Christian missionaries.

Missionary Agitation for Leadership in Education

The Christian missionaries were particularly sore when they found that they could no longer reach the masses through an education system built upon grants-in-aid. They were further irked by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 following the Revolt of 1857 which assured the Indian people of the British Raj's non-interference in religious matters. The government officials who adopted an unsympathetic attitude to mission schools and followed a line of direct competition by creating rival schools added further to their difficulties.

The missionaries therefore started an agitation both in India and in England complaining that, (a) the educational administration in India was not carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Education Despatch of 1854 which had recommended with-

drawal of government from the field of education, (b) that the government officials were competing with missionary educational endeavour to such an extent that the mission schools were now threatened with extinction and (c) that the secular education imparted in government institutions was Godless. In England they formed "the General Council of Education in India" which included among its members important personalities such as Lord Lawrence, and Lord Halifax (Charles Wood). When Lord Ripon's name was announced as the Viceroy of India in 1882, a delegation of this Council waited upon him and requested him to institute an enquiry into the state of Indian education. Ripon observed: "The Despatch lays down clearly and forcibly the broad lines of the true educational policy for India, and upon these lines it will be my desire to work. It will be my duty when I get out to India to examine all such matters carefully in the light of the information which will then be at my disposal; but I do not think I shall be guilty of any indiscretion if I tell you even now how much I sympathise with your desire to promote the extension of elementary education among the poorer classes. This has been a special object of interest for many years in England, it will not be less so in India."

Appointment of Hunter Commission and its Terms of Reference

In February 1882 Ripon appointed the first Indian Education Commission with William Hunter, a member of his Executive Council, as its Chairman. Among its 20 members, Indians were represented by Anand Mohan Bose, Bhudev Mukherjee, Syed Mahmud and K.T. Telung, and the missionaries by Rev. Dr. Miller of Madras. B.L. Rice, the Mysore Director of Public Instruction, was appointed its secretary. The Commission was asked "to enquire particularly into the manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854 and to suggest such measures as it might think desirable with a view to the further carrying out of the policy therein laid down." The Commission was also asked to keep the enquiry into the primary education in the forefront, partly because of an agitation alleging its neglect in India, and partly because a national system of compulsory elementary education was built up in England two years ago with the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1880. The

Commission was further asked to enquire into the position of the government institutions in a national system of education, the position of the missionary institutions in it and the attitude of the government towards private enterprise. The Commission was also asked to offer suggestions on secondary education—European, and university education being excluded from the purview of the Commission.

The Commission submitted its Report

The Commission first started at Calcutta for nearly seven weeks and thereafter toured India for eight months examining witnesses and collecting materials, and finally submitted its voluminous report of more than 600 folio pages and 222 resolutions in 1883.

The most notable part of the Commission's recommendations was that it freed the government from the responsibilities of mass education by entrusting these to the local boards and suggested a gradual transfer of government colleges and secondary schools to efficient private bodies. Indians were thus required to raise funds for their own education and their efforts were to be assisted by a liberal grants-in-aid system. In this context the Commission reviewed the system of grants-in-aid prevalent in different provinces—the Salary Grant System of Madras, the Payment-by-Results System of Bombay and the Fixed Period System of Northern and Central India—and suggested that each state should be left free to adopt any system which would best suit its local conditions. There was to be no discrimination between government and non-government institutions while applying the rules of grants-in-aid to them.

Support for Indigenous Education

The Commission supported the indigenous system of education which had been waning for want of patronage. According to its definition, indigenous education was one "established or conducted by natives of India on native methods" and it observed that by surviving "a severe competition", these indigenous schools had proved both their vitality and popularity. The Commission recommended that they should be developed, patronised, and assisted to "fill a useful position in the state system of national education." The management of these schools was left to district and municipal boards and they were left free to develop its cur-

ricula, method of teaching and mode of examination. It forbade the government officials to interfere with their affairs and suggested encouragement of the teachers of these schools by training them properly. However, the natural growth of these schools was checked by the adoption of the System of Payment by Results, which had been regarded as detrimental to secondary and collegiate education.

Elementary Education with Vocational Overtones

As per the Resolution of the Government of India, 1882, "the principal object of the enquiry of the Commission" was "the development of elementary education" which was "one of the main objects contemplated by the Despatch of 1854." The Commission therefore boldly admitted that, "while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the state, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore." The Commission recommended that primary education should be closely related to the practical aspect of the masses and so while allowing considerable catholicity of views in allowing all the provinces to adopt a curriculum suited to their needs, they recommended that such curriculum should include certain subjects of practical utility, such as, book-keeping, mensuration, arithmetic and natural and physical sciences with their application to agriculture, health and industrial arts. The government should encourage primary education by throwing appointments at a lower level to merely literate persons—persons who can read and write—and should provide liberal grants-in-aid to primary education in tribal regions and educationally backward districts.

Management

The management of primary education was left to the local boards introduced in India by Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government Act. These boards modelled on the County Councils which managed primary education in England were responsible for the management and expansion of primary education of a particular locality. The Commission suggested that accounts of rural and

urban primary institutions be separated so that the funds of rural institutions were not misappropriated by urban primary schools. Every District and Municipal Board was asked to keep a separate fund for education which should be exclusively used for the purpose for which it was meant. The Commission also asked the provincial governments to contribute to the local funds by a suitable system of grants-in-aid preferably at the rate of half the local assets or one third of the total expenditure.

Normal Schools

The Commission which emphasised the need for establishing Normal Schools for the training of teachers, preferably at least one in each division, suggested that the provision of Normal Schools along with the cost of direction and inspection of primary education should be "the first charge on provincial funds."

Finance

The Commission thus pressed the claims of primary education on different types of funds but the funds placed at the disposal of the local boards were insignificant in view of the vast population of the country. Further the mode of grants-in-aid adopted for primary education in India, that is, Payment-by-Results introduced in England two years ago had already proved a failure wherever it was tried and the Commission should have been more liberal in providing funds to the local boards. Finally, the government was able to shift responsibility for primary education entirely to the local bodies recently introduced in India, and much depended on the strength of such bodies to discharge their obligation towards the development of primary education. The history of primary education in India would have been different, had the government itself taken full responsibility for its development at this stage.

Bifurcation of Courses at Secondary Level

In secondary and collegiate education, as has been said earlier, the Commission recommended gradual withdrawal of the government from direct enterprise through a liberal and judicious use of the system of grants-in-aid. It however suggested that the government should maintain some secondary schools, at least one model high school, in such districts "where they may be required

in the interests of the people, and where the people themselves may not be advanced or wealthy enough to establish such schools for themselves with a grants-in-aid." The Commission also allowed the managers of these institutions to charge less fees than those of the government institutions and recommended bifurcation in the curricula to maintain a high standard in secondary and collegiate education. It suggested an 'A' course which was meant for the entrance examination of the universities and a 'B' course which was meant for commercial and non-literary studies. However the commission kept silent on the medium of instruction, thereby implying the use of English.

Grants-in-aid for Collegiate Education

As far as college education was concerned, the Commission suggested that "the rate of aid to each college be determined by the strength of the staff, the expenditure on its maintenance, the efficiency of the institution and the wants of the locality." The Commission made valuable recommendations on the subjects of providing jobs, higher studies abroad and introduction of a wide and comprehensive curricula in different colleges of India to suit the needs of various students. However, as in the case of secondary schools, the Commission's permission to the private institutions to charge a lower rate of fees compared to the government institutions led to an undesirable and unhealthy growth of rivalry among institutions many of which were inefficient. Yet the Commission was far ahead in time in respect of measures which are now engaging the attention of our educational planners.

Provision for Educationally Backward Classes: Muslim and Women

While the Commission was anxious to extend the benefits of primary education to the backward classes including aboriginal tribes and low castes through an exemption of fees, the disparity in the educational progress of the Hindu and Muslim communities as well as of males and females also attracted the attention of its members. The Commission recommended special educational facilities to the Muslims for encouragement of indigenous Muslim schools like the establishment of Muslim High, Middle and Primary Schools and Normal Schools as well as institution of scholarship and studentship from primary to college level. For girls it

suggested liberal grants to girls' schools, establishment of Normal Schools, institution of a simple curriculum for the primary education of girls, award of grants to the *zenana* teachers, and a separate inspectorate for girls' education as in the case of Muslims' education.

Other Recommendations

The Commission also pointed out the need for establishing special schools and colleges for the education of princes and children of the royal families. The need for adult education was also discussed and it was suggested that night schools wherever practicable started for them. Finally, the Commission acknowledged that much depended on the teachers and their proper training. It suggested an examination in the principles and practice of teaching for teachers and permanent employment of the successful candidates as teachers in the secondary schools, aided or government. For graduates it suggested a shorter duration of such courses in a normal school.

Missionary Hope of Dominance frustrated by the Commission

The Commission however threw cold water to the missionary hope of dominating the field of education in India after the withdrawal of the government from direct involvement in it. It observed: "The private effort which it is mainly intended to evoke is that of the people themselves. Natives of India must constitute the most important of all agencies of educational means.... In a country with such varied needs as India, we should deprecate any measure which would throw excessive influence over higher education into the hands of any single agency; and particularly into the hands of an agency which, however, benevolent and earnest, cannot on all points be in sympathy with the mass of the community At the same time we think it well to put on record our unanimous opinion that withdrawal of direct departmental agency should not take place in favour of missionary bodies and the departmental institutions of the higher order should not be transferred to missionary management." The only concession the Commission seemed to have taken to rectify the missionaries' charge of 'Godless education' was to instruct the principal or one of the professors in the college to deliver a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen in each session. It further suggested

that an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book based on the fundamental principles of human and natural religions.

The Hunter Commission while making many valuable recommendations such as those on vocational and adult education, still valid today, suggested withdrawal of government support from the field of secondary and collegiate education. Recent research has established beyond doubt that there was a stronger political reason for this withdrawal. By the end of 1870s it was realised that the system of Western education introduced by the British Raj was "raising a number of discontented and disloyal subjects" and the gradual extension of the use of Western method of agitation and organization acquired through the universities and colleges by the educated Indians was posing a "real danger to our rule in India" as Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India pointed out several decades later to Curzon. As a matter of fact, Sir William Hunter himself thought the government supported education was producing, among educated Indians, a sense of revolt against the three principles which represented "the deepest wants of human nature—the principle of discipline, the principle of religion, the principle of contentment." Ripon who appointed the Hunter Commission observed in his Convocation Address at the University of Bombay in 1884 rather sympathetically to the Indian cause: "It is little short of folly that we should throw open to increasing numbers the rich stores of Western learning; that we should inspire them with European ideas, and bring them into the closest contact with English thought, and that then we should as it were, pay no heed to the growth of those aspirations which we have ourselves created, and the pride of those ambitions we have ourselves called forth."

Developments in the Post-Hunter Commission Years

Elementary Education

The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, and transferred primary education to the charge of the Municipalities and District Boards, created on the pattern of the County Councils of England by the two Acts—the Municipal Act and the Local Self-Government Act—introducing self-government in India. However, the extent of the transfer of control and of financial support varied from state to state. While Bombay agreed to pay half as much as the Local Boards assigned to primary education, Madras and Central Provinces agreed to pay 5 per cent of their total revenues on education to it, and Bengal and North-Western Provinces took upon themselves the entire responsibility of supporting primary education financially. However, the progress of primary education was not satisfactory. Between 1885–86 and 1901–02, the increase in the number of pupils was only 66,00,000 as compared to nearly 2,00,000 between 1870–71 and 1885–86. The slow progress may be explained partly by the inability of the government to carry primary education to inaccessible areas inhabited by a people indifferent to education and partly by the lack of adequate finances—the expenditure on primary education by the government rose by a negligible thousand rupees per year from Rs. 16.77 lakhs in 1881–81 to Rs. 16.92 lakhs in 1901–02.

Secondary Education

However, secondary education showed considerable progress. The number of secondary schools rose from 3,916 in 1881-82 to 5,124 in 1901-02 and the number of students rose from 214,077 in 1881-82 to 590,129 in 1901-02. Following the recommendation of the Commission, almost all the provincial governments had included practical education under course 'B'. In 1888 Madras started an Upper Secondary Course which included technical subjects; in 1897 Bombay started a School Final Course which prepared the students for government posts of certain grades; in 1900 Bengal started a scheme for practical courses—course B which led to technical schools and colleges and course C which prepared boys for clerical and commercial careers—and in 1901 Punjab started two courses for clerical and commercial examination and science entrance examination. But these new courses were not very popular—Madras for example could only get some 210 candidates for its course till 1901-02 though the Bombay course which prepared candidates for clerical posts in public services was to some extent popular. The secondary education was completely dominated by matriculation courses and thus while in 1901-02 some 23,000 candidates took the Matriculation examination, only 2,000 examinees sat for the examination of the B course of the Hunter Commission.

Higher Education

It was in the field of higher education that the Commission's recommendation on withdrawal of government support led to a phenomenal growth of private enterprise. Among the colleges, many of which grew out of high schools, were the Fergusson College at Poona which was founded up by B.G. Tilak, V.K. Chiplonkar and G.G. Agarkar, the Ripon College at Calcutta by Surendra Nath Banerjea, and the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore in 1886 by the Arya Samaj. Annie Besant founded the Central Hindu College at Benares in 1889 and among the colleges set up by the missionaries were the Indian Christian College at Sialkot in 1889, Christ Church College at Hapur in 1892 and Gordon College at Rawalpindi in 1893. However, the Christian missionaries, aggrieved by the Commission's recommendation did not show much interest in higher education and the colleges remained mainly in the hands of the Indians. By 1901-02 the

number of colleges had risen from 68 in 1881–82 to 179 including 9 in Ceylon and 2 in Burma.

Punjab University

In 1882 the Punjab University was established by a Special Act of Incorporation. It grew out of the college at Lahore which included a Faculty of Oriental Learning and later developed a Faculty of Law. Thus unlike the older universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, it carried on teaching work. The medium of instruction was Urdu in the Oriental Faculty which conferred degrees and the diplomas in Oriental languages, that is, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit.

Allahabad University

After the establishment of Punjab University in 1882, it was thought necessary to set up a separate university in the North-Western Provinces to "stimulate local progress" as Calcutta University was "too far distant" to suitably aid the development of higher education in Northern India. So by another Special Act of Incorporation Allahabad University was created in 1887. The Act imposed no limitations on the scope and activity of the university but, as the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1897–1902*, pointed out, Allahabad conformed to the practice of the three original universities and "confined itself to conferring degrees on candidates" who passed its examinations after following a prescribed course of study in an institution affiliated to it as per the system introduced by the Acts of Incorporation in 1857. Thus by the end of 1901–02 there were five universities in India conferring degrees and diplomas on candidates who had successfully gone through a prescribed course of learning in an affiliated college.

Towards a Control of Higher Education

The expansion of higher education in India in the decades following the Hunter Commission recommendations aggravated the existing problem of unemployment among the educated Indians. The annual output of the graduates had increased with the growing years and by 1883, as Henry Maine estimated, there were already some 25,000 B.As and M.As out of an estimated population of 25,00,00,000. Having received a good secondary school education up to the Matriculation level and having attended a university, these men were certainly very educated compared to the illiterate town-dwellers or village ryots.

Prospects for the Educated Indians

What was the prospect open to the large number of students who were thus able to receive higher education in the country? For one thing, careers in India were virtually never open to talent though the principle had been asserted time and again in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 after the Mutiny to allay fear, suspicion and distrust. Again some avenues like army and politics were closed altogether. In those days agriculture offered little temptation and so did manufacturing and commerce, for the latter was almost impossible without skill, capital and equality of terms with which it could compete with European industry. As a matter of fact, the very nature of the courses with their "unique and disproportionate attention" to literature and philosophy compared with physical and cognate branches of practical instruction tended to limit the choice of a career to either

government service or analogous employment. "What else can he do but qualify himself", lamented a Calcutta newspaper, *Indian Mirror*, "or, if he is a father, train his son for the public service or one of the learned professions."

In theory, the covenanted civil service was open to Indians since 1853 but in practice every difficulty stood in their way—the very early age-limits for the examination, the nature of the syllabus, the expense of going to London where the examination was held, the prejudice against crossing the "black water" and the official reluctance to admit Indians into this vital service. The only posts open to the Indians were at the lower level of the uncovenanted service. Here the salaries were very poor, prospects for promotions nil and service conditions extremely bad.

The non-availability of suitable openings in the public service naturally compelled many to turn to independent professions such as teaching, law, journalism and medicine. Unlike the government servants who were dependent on the goodwill of their employers, these professionals had greater incentive for taking part in public life. By the end of 1870s and the beginning of 1880s there was hardly any important town in India which did not possess a sprinkle of teachers, lawyers, journalists and doctors who took a very lively and keen interest in social, political, economic and religious questions of the day.

Growing Unemployment among the Educated Indians

The professionals were fortunate but for the majority of the young Indians who went to schools and colleges, higher education brought no solace and as Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, observed in a minute on 5 January 1877, it was "melancholy to see men, who once appeared to receive their honours in the university convocation now applying for some lowly-paid appointment, almost begging from office to office, from department to department, or struggling for the practice of petty practitioner." Nevertheless, even with these examples before their eyes, "hundreds, perhaps thousands of youngmen persist in embarking on the same course which can lead only to the same sad ending", so lamented the Lieutenant Governor Richard Temple. By January 1889 the problem of unemployment among the educated Indians reached such a dimension that Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General of India, drew pointed atten-

tion to it at his Calcutta Convocation Address as Chancellor : "I am afraid we must not disguise from ourselves that if our schools and colleges continue to educate the youth of India at the present rate, we are likely to hear even more than we do at present of the complaint that we are turning out every year an increasing number of young men whom we have provided with an intellectual equipment admirable in itself but practically useless to them on account of the small number of openings which the professions afford for gentlemen who have received this kind of education."

The growing unemployment among the educated Indians and the latter's disillusionment with the British Raj's policy towards the problem increasingly added fuel to the nationalistic sentiments that had been growing ever since the middle of the nineteenth century. Bound together by common backgrounds, common occupations, and common grievances against the official system, the new educated class began to write in English dailies and to meet in associations to demand rights of the Indians especially those of representation and employment. In 1885 when the Indian National Congress, which Hume saw as a safety-valve to the growing discontent with the alien rule, was formed, it adopted "wider employment of the people in the public service", as one of "the three important questions" constituting "the chief planks in the Congress platform." Hardly any annual session of the Indian National Congress took place without a discussion on the subject of employment—"the most important key to our material and moral advancement" as Dadabhai Naoroji described it in the very first session, passing resolutions on it. In the session in 1900, Surendra Nath Banerjea quoted figures for Bengal to show how the Government of India was deliberately evading the various pledges and principles made in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 regarding the employment of Indians in the public service. "If you look at the statistics...", Banerjea observed, "you will find that the higher offices, the bulk of the higher offices—I should not be guilty of the smallest exaggeration if I say that at least 90 per cent of the higher offices—are filled by Europeans and Anglo-Indians...Imperialists, somebody says; they may be imperialists or not but at any rate these Departments constitute the close preserve, the absolute monopoly of these gentlemen. We are excluded. And why? Because of our race. Our colour is our disqualification."

Rise of Militant Nationalism and the Reaction of the British Raj

While the "discontented B.As and M.As" must have shared Banerjea's views on the policy of the Government of India with regard to the appointment of Indians to the Indian Civil Service and lesser services, some of them were becoming advocates of a more militant nationalism. The latter became adherents of the new generation of leaders like B.G. Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal, more "extremist" than the previous leadership. In Bengal, the extremist challenge began with Aurobindo's fierce attack on the Congress in 1893. Next year, Alfred Croft reported in his Convocation Address at Calcutta that lack of any suitable openings for those who had just been able to take their degrees as well as those who had failed was posing a grave problem. Quoting from Bacon's *Of Seditions and Troubles*, he underlined the danger by warning that one of the chief causes of discontent was "when more are bred scholars than preferment can take off."

In 1897, in the last year of Lord Elgin's viceroyalty when Bombay was threatened with an outbreak of plague, two educated young men, Damodar and Balkrishna Chapekar murdered Rand, the Collector and Plague Officer of Poona and his associate, Lt. Ayerst. As a reaction to the Poona murders, in 1898, the Government of India enacted the "Sedition Law." After going through the papers leading to the Poona murders, Hamilton found it impossible to dissociate these young men's ideas and hatred of England from the course of education and training through which they had passed. Hamilton and his advisers regarded the Fergusson College at Poona where Damodar and Balkrishna had studied as the mainspring of a small but deep rooted political conspiracy in the Deccan.

Hamilton's views on the Poona murders thus brought to a head the sentiments of those British officials who had since the early 1870s been pondering over the utility of spreading English education in India. Gustave LeBon, a French publicist and social scientist who visited India in the early 1880s commented that English education was not at all suitable for the Indians who had a strong traditional culture. The latter could not satisfy the wants created by English education and so the English-educated wrote to the Indian press with bitter attacks on the Raj. The "Babus", as he

called the English-educated Indians in Bengal, were the enemies of British rule and it was silly to rule the country through them.

In the decades following the birth of the Indian National Congress, the feeling spread that the decision to promote education in English, ever since the days of Macaulay, was a "short story of grave political miscalculation" containing a lesson "that has its significance for other nations which have undertaken a similar enterprise." English education which was identified with higher education in India had given birth to a tone of mind and to a type of character that was "ill-regulated, averse from discipline, discontented, and in some cases actually disloyal." In short, it had raised "a fighting cock" while it was expected to raise "an innocuous hen." As Curzon later declared in connection with his scheme for education reform at the Conference at Simla, "When Erasmus was reproached with having laid the egg from which came forth the Reformation, 'Yes', he replied: 'but I laid a hen's egg, and Luther had hatched a fighting cock'. This, I believe, is pretty much the view of a good many critics of English education in India."

Schemes for checking the Spread of Higher Education

Curzon himself fully subscribed to this view. Five weeks after landing at Calcutta, while delivering the Calcutta University Convocation Address as its Chancellor on 11 February 1899, he observed "that our system of higher education in India is a failure; that it has sacrificed the formation of character upon the altar of cram; and that the Indian University turn out only a discontented horde of office seekers, whom we educated for places which are not in existence for them to fill."¹ Since it was not too late to undo Macaulay's or Bentinck's decisions to offer English education in India, the best that could be done at that moment was to devise means to restrict its disadvantages.

One of the means could have been to divert the attention of the young Indians from Western education to Oriental education which Annie Besant's Hindu College in Benares proposed to impart now "by undertaking the task of giving religious and moral education on Hindu lines to its Youths." Hamilton was willing to "encourage" Besant's scheme of education. As he wrote to Curzon in connection with Besant's Hindu College, "I think the real dan-

1. Italics are mine.

ger to our rule in India, not now but say 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western agitation and organisation; and if we could break the Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, we should, by such a division strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education make upon our present system of Government."

Another means would be, as had been unsuccessfully done by the government before in the 1870s and in 1882, to give more attention to primary and secondary education and less to higher education. Anything, Hamilton remarked rather gloomily, would be better than expansion of purely literary education, "joy of the Babu and anglicised Brahmin" which "produces a wholesale mass of discontented individuals who, if they cannot find government employment spend their time in abusing the government which has educated them."

Curzon opted for Control of Higher Education

Curzon was not too happy with Besant's scheme because it was associated with "not merely active, but disloyal politicians" though Besant "herself had no political motives"; he thought, however, that the best course to slow down what Hamilton later described in his *Reminiscences* as the "educational juggernaut" was to bring higher education under effective governmental control.

The Age of Curzon, 1899-1905

Curzon's university reform became the pivot upon which his other reforms in education revolved. The most important fallout of his reform of the Indian universities was the first official announcement of the future education policy of the Government of India to reduce the tension created among the educated Indians by the process of his university reform. We shall study Curzon's age in education in British India under two heads, first, Curzon's university reform and second, the White Paper on Indian education announced on 4 March 1904—a few days before the passing of the Indian Universities Act.

CURZON'S UNIVERSITY REFORM

Curzon revealed his Plan for University Reform to Hamilton

As mentioned earlier, Curzon gave top priority to his reforms of higher education from the very beginning of his term as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in January 1899. He allowed himself sufficient time to study the university question and took one important step when he appointed his friend, Raleigh, as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, then the largest among the five existing universities in India. In August 1901, he wrote to Hamilton: "I think it very likely that in the case of the universities for the reform of which we shall almost inevitably be compelled to resort to legislation, I shall have to appoint a small preliminary commission to go round and take evidence at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and allow the instructed M.As and

B.As who swarm at these capitals to have their say in advance.... Such a situation as the present with a Chancellor and a Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University in the persons of myself and Raleigh who are both Fellows of an Oxford College and strongly imbued with the university feeling is probably not likely to occur again for a long time in India. It would be a pity not to take advantage of it to carry out reforms which everyone admits to be essentials, which nobody hitherto has dared to touch; but which I think that I have the strength of position to carry through. If left alone to develop upon the present lines the Indian universities will ere long develop into nurseries of discontented characters and stunted brains. There are many, many indeed who say, that the effect has already been produced."

Defects of the Indian Universities as set up in 1857

There is no doubt that the five universities in India suffered from a series of defects. Majority of the ills which had plagued these universities could be traced to the Acts of Incorporation passed by the Governor-General and Viceroy, Lord Canning in January 1857, which provided for their establishment at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

As we have already seen in one of the preceding chapters, the preambles in the Acts of Incorporations establishing the three universities were identical—they defined the objects of the universities as "ascertaining by means of examination the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science and Art and of rewarding them by Academic Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments." There was to be a Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor and fellows, both ex-officio and ordinary who together would constitute the "Body Politic and Corporate" for each of the three universities. The number of the fellows excluding the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor was to be not less than thirty. While the ex-officio fellows were to hold the fellowship during their official tenure only, the ordinary fellows were to be appointed by the government for life—vacancies in their ranks were caused only by death, resignation and cancellation of appointment by the government, permanent retirement from India in the case of European officials.

In 1882 the Punjab University was established by a Special Act of Incorporation and in 1887, another Special Act of Incorporation

established the fifth Indian university at Allahabad. The general framework of these two Special Acts of Incorporation was similar to the Acts of 1857 though power was given to the Senates of the Punjab and the Allahabad Universities "to appoint or provide for the appointment of Professor and Lecturers"—a privilege which was denied by the Acts of Incorporation to the first three universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857. The first three universities were deliberately intended to be examining universities only, in the same manner and on the same model as the then University of London. Thereby it ignored an important suggestion of the Education Despatch of 1854 which suggested possible institution of "professorships for the purpose of the delivery of lectures in various branches of learning for the acquisition of which, at any rate in an advanced degree, facilities do not now exist in other institutions in India." When Lahore and Allahabad got this privilege in 1882 and 1887 respectively, the Indians had asked for its extension to Calcutta, Bombay and Madras but European officials closely connected with the university contested it on two grounds: first that the demand for constitutional expansions was fictitious in as much as the place of a teaching university had in reality been taken by the collegiate system which had sprung into existence since 1857, and second that it would be vain and foolish to constitute professorships or lectureships for higher students than those who attended the college lectures because of the absence of such students, courses and any funds forthcoming for the endowment. In the case of the Punjab University only, the endowment came in the form of a grant of Rs. 12000 a year from the Government of India for maintaining the Oriental institutions and the classes in Oriental learning.

However, the most glaring defect of the Acts of Incorporation was in the appointment of the fellows to the Senates of these universities. These fellows were appointed for life and not for a special period. There was also no upper limit to the number of the fellows to be appointed, though the minimum was fixed at 30. The minimum was the same at Allahabad but at Lahore it was raised to 50. The number of fellows steadily rose at Calcutta from 40 in 1857 to a maximum of 220 in 1890. Lord Lansdowne, in his Convocation Address on 18 January 1890, recognized the anomaly and proposed gradually to bring about its reduction, but how small an advance had been made in this direction could be seen from

the fact that when Curzon came to India in the last week of December 1898, the number still stood at 200. Helped by "natural causes" and by his refusal to exercise the right of nomination, Curzon had been able to bring it to a little over 180 in 1901. As regards the composition and qualifications of the 180 fellows, excluding those who had been returned by election, the practice had been for the Chancellor to invite recommendations from the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and from such representative persons as he might care to consult. The result had been that the fellowship came to be regarded as a sort of a titular reward, conferred without much reference to the academic qualifications of the recipient, but rather as a stage of promotion in an Indian career. Prominent English officials and prominent Indians had been thus honoured though the former as a rule recognised no answering obligations. A good many drifted away from Calcutta into other provinces and posts although their names continued to block the list. Of those who continued in Bengal, a large number never attended. The list actually included the name of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, although he was the Chancellor of his own university at Allahabad, and that of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, though he was similarly the Chancellor of his university at Lahore. From time to time names had been recommended by the local government and accepted by the Chancellor for the special object of giving due recognition of special interests such as medicine and engineering. The result had been that the list of the nominated fellows was on the whole a distinguished list but as Curzon later pointed out "it is largely an absentee list : and the distinction that it reflects is official or professional rather than academic."

In 1891, Lord Lansdowne conceded the privilege of election on a limited scale to the graduates of the university on an experimental basis and there was no pledge of its continuance. The qualifications laid down both for the electoral body and the elected were M.A. (B.A. before 1867) and higher degrees in any faculty—in other words the electorate could choose only from among themselves. This restriction was imposed on a reluctant Senate to prevent election of political agitators from outside. However, the slack and precipitated standard of qualification formulated in 1891 had resulted in the creation of a large and heterogeneous electorate

scattered throughout Burma, Assam, Bengal, the Central Provinces and Ceylon, a cleverly organised system of canvassing, and a thoroughly undistinguished list of nominees. Of the 24 fellows elected since 1891, two had died. Of these, four had been chosen on specific grounds in exercise of a power by the government in 1892 to reserve occasional vacancies for the Faculties of Medicine and Engineering or for eminence in education and literature. Of the remainder, 16 are practising lawyers and none of them was qualified for election by his degree in the Faculty of Law, that is, none was a D.L. They were all nominally elected by reason of their attainments in the Faculty of Arts, but only three of them had obtained a First Class in Arts, several only a Second and some even a Third. All of the lawyers came from unaided colleges where there had been no government supervision. Of the 22, only two or three were engaged in bonafide educational work and these were elected only in the reserved categories. Secondly, election was held through systematic and elaborate canvassing. Lists were kept by "the Vakils of the Elections" who having taken their degrees, had dispersed throughout India. Agents were employed to hunt them out and canvass for them; which involved considerable expense. Candidates who did not resort to these methods and was not supported by "the Vakils' Party" had no chance of being returned. The system whether looked at from the point of view of methods or of men seemed to stand equally condemned. It was felt that any Chancellor who "acquiesces in its continuance is shutting his eyes while a weapon is being forged which will ultimately extrude European standards and influence from the Senate altogether, and will hand over its government to a clique of political *frondeurs* who have no interest in Education."

The Senate was the nominal and statutory governing body of the university. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University, which was the real governing body of the Senate, was in the anomalous position of having no statutory origin. No mention was made of it in the Act of 1857 but its origin could be traced to an interpretation of clause VIII of the Act of Incorporation which gave the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and fellows powers to control university affairs as well as to make and alter any by-laws and regulations in general, touching all matters whatsoever regarding the university. The Senate had not only almost completely abdicated its functions to the Syndicate but its own annual meeting for

purposes of business was also held at the most inconvenient season of the year: on the third Saturday in April—when the majority of the Europeans were absent from Calcutta, as Maclean, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University later reported to Curzon.

No geographical limits to the areas of affiliation were indicated and the universities, thus set up by the Acts of Incorporation in 1857 were affiliating universities from distant geographical areas. The Calcutta University, for example, functioned not merely for Bengal, but for Burma, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Ceylon and the affiliated institutions spread over from Simla and Mussorie to Indore and Jaipur and from Jaffna and Batticaloa to Sylhet and Chittagong. Managed by their own governing bodies, the affiliated colleges were not a part of the university. Not all of them were residential institutions with a history of tradition, created through the generosity of some philanthropic societies, missionary bodies or wealthy Indians, interested in spreading the light of enlightenment, but for most part were collections of lecture rooms, and class rooms, and laboratories. They had no control over the courses of study which were prescribed by the affiliating university and their only function seemed to be to prepare students for the examinations which were again conducted by the university. Since a large number of colleges—government, aided and unaided—were affiliated with each of the three universities, it follows the rules for affiliation framed by the university were not very strict. And indeed the first affiliation rules prepared by the Calcutta University in February 1857, for example, only demanded from the college seeking affiliation with it, a declaration, countersigned by at least two members of the Senate, of the staff and courses of study for the previous two years and of the institution's ability of imparting education up to the standard of B.A. degree. Despite the Hunter Commission's attempt in 1882 to follow a stricter application of rules relating to affiliation, the growth in the number of affiliated colleges continued unabated so that by the time Curzon came to India, the total number of affiliated colleges in the whole of British India was 191, of which 145 were Arts Colleges and the rest Professional Colleges including Law (30), Teaching (5), Agriculture (3), Medicine (4) and Engineering (4).

It would seem then that these universities were not merely examination bodies as their influences were extended far beyond

examinations by their practical power to refuse or admit the affiliation of colleges. They were independent of the education departments set up in the provinces of British India as per the direction of the Education Despatch of 1854. While an education department could exercise control over the government and aided colleges, it had no control over the private colleges which had "the chief part in the education of undergraduates" of the universities. The education departments were unable to banish politics from the unaided colleges where the managers and professors were likely to educate their pupils "in all the political and financial fallacies" antagonistic to the British connection. The number of such unaided colleges imparting legal education was particularly high in Bengal where the Law students perhaps more than any other class of students were prone to politics and it was feared that the government had made a mistake "to let the control of legal education go entirely out of its hands" by not providing a properly recognized Government Law College in Calcutta as in Madras and Bombay.

It is obvious that the affiliated colleges in different parts of British India could not be expected to maintain a uniform and high academic standard as there was no separate education department in case of the Government of India as in England, with an organisation and a staff of its own to supervise higher education in the whole of British India. As a matter of fact, Madras normally turned out considerably greater number of graduates than Calcutta and many more than Bombay, Allahabad and Punjab put together arousing doubts about the standard at Madras. Many of the new affiliated colleges that came into existence as a result of the local and private efforts, before Curzon's Viceroyalty, were "weak, understaffed and incapable of affording the individual attention either to the needs of the student or of providing the varied courses of study, practical as well as literary", as reported by the Calcutta University Commission almost more than a decade and a half later in 1917.

Curzon's Minute on University Reform on 23 February 1901

By 23 February 1901 Curzon's scheme for university reform was ready when he recorded an extremely long minute on the subject, revealing his tremendous capabilities for hard work, for which he had a great reputation at Oxford, and for which he almost

impaired his health in India just as Dalhousie had actually done before him. The main thrust of his arguments in the minute was that, legislation was necessary to (a) extend the functions of the Indian universities from examination to teaching, (b) regulate the number, tenure and qualifications of the fellows as well as to maintain a proper balance between Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, and between the various faculties or professions, (c) reconstitute the electorate by adding residential qualifications among the graduates just as the Convocation of Oxford then consisted of resident M.A.s or rather such graduates as were capable of coming to the Senates to vote, as well as by laying down some academic or educational standard which was necessary for election to a fellowship at Oxford, as a qualification for election here, (d) provide a statutory status to the Syndicate which was the real executive body of the university, (e) narrow the geographical limits or areas of each university, (f) strengthen the law relating to the recognition and affiliation of colleges as well as withdraw recognition or affiliation in cases in which discipline had been relaxed and the standard too much lowered, (g) curtail power of the boards of studies which prescribed textbooks for the colleges as well as regulate the courses of instruction of the candidates reading for the university examination; and finally, to revoke the university degrees in cases where the holder had been convicted by a criminal court. After listing the areas for legislation to tighten control over the universities, Curzon felt that the plate was still not full:

"There are doubtless other subjects affecting the case for or against legislation which have not occurred to me, or of which I am ignorant.... There also remains the question as to the competence of the Government of India to reform (either by legislative or by executive action) the University of Calcutta without reference to the case of the Universities of Madras and Bombay; and even if the competence be indisputable, the expedience or desirability of the same."

Conference at Simla

It was, therefore, necessary to consult a body of expert opinions and six months after he had drafted the proposals for the university reform, he summoned a Conference at Simla to look for the light at the end of the tunnel. The first Educational Conference in

India, started on 2 September 1901, was attended by the Vice-Chancellors of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the Directors of Public Instruction in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, Inspector-General of Education in the Central Provinces, Principal of the Deccan College at Poona, Principal of the School of Arts in Madras, Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India and finally Risley besides Curzon and the members of his Council. The character of the Conference was "both official and private" and did not include any representative of the Indian people. Curzon opened the proceedings with a statement which was intended to be communicated to the press. In it he outlined all the flaws of "our system" and indicated the line upon which, tentatively at any rate, reform would proceed. Curzon presided over the Conference for 16 days and himself drafted each one of the 150 resolutions on education which were passed unanimously by the twenty people attending the Conference.

The proceedings of the Conference were never published and the secrecy with which Curzon enveloped the Conference at Simla earned for it such names as Secret Conclave and Star Chamber. As Surendra Nath Banerjea later remarked rather sarcastically: "The Conference met in secret, deliberated in secret, resolved in secret, and I presume dispersed in secret."

Out of the 150 resolutions drafted by Curzon and unanimously passed by the Conference no fewer than 45 were on the subject of university education. The delegates to the Conference emphatically voted in favour of a thorough constitutional reform of the universities in India. They also recommended that the powers of the government in respect of affiliation, recognition and text books be strengthened; that a Director-General of Indian education be appointed; that the rules for examinations and degrees be co-ordinated and improved, and that the establishment of hostels be encouraged and that a minimum rate of fees be fixed. The Conference also endorsed the decision taken by Curzon before it met at Simla that it was desirable to appoint a Commission to examine the question of university education in all its aspects.

Appointment of Indian Universities Commission

In a telegram to Hamilton on 13 January 1902 Curzon proposed to appoint six persons as permanent members of the Commission

including Raleigh who was to be the Chairman. The other five were Hewett, Pedler, Bourne, Mackichan and Syed H. Bilgrami—the last being the only Indian representative. When the appointment of the Commission was made public after obtaining Hamilton's approval, the absence of a Hindu among the six permanent commissioners created a great stir since the Hindus had "the largest interest in the educational problems that were to be considered." Surendra Nath Banerjea, a dismissed member of the Indian Civil Service on flimsy grounds, who had earlier led the Civil Service Agitation in 1876–7, raised "a vigorous protest" in the editorial columns of the *Bengalee* against "this ostracism of the Hindu element."

The Indian public opinion supported Banerjea's view and Curzon had no other alternative but to send a private telegram to Hamilton seeking his approval on the nomination of Gooroodas Banerjee, a former Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and now a prominent judge of the Calcutta High Court. In their assignment of collecting evidences from "the disgruntled M.A.s and B.A.s", the permanent members of the Commission were to be assisted by five local commissioners—Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya for Bengal, Sankaran Nair for Madras, Chandavarkar for Bombay and Lewis and Bell for the North Western Provinces and the Punjab respectively.

Appointment of the Director-General of Education

While announcing the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission, Curzon also made an appointment to the newly created post of the Director-General of Education, discussed at the Conference at Simla and latter approved by Hamilton. Orange, who had two first classes from Winchester and Oxford and was then working in the Department of Education as an Examiner in the White Hall, was appointed to the post on the recommendation of Sadler who was first offered the post but declined to accept it.

The Indian Universities Commission submitted its Recommendations

The Indian Universities Commission started its work at Madras on 18 February and after examining 156 witnesses including only 63 Indians at different places, the Commission submitted its recommendations on 9 June to Curzon who in a delightful mood

wrote to Northbrook, "My Universities Commission had just reported." It is not necessary to enter here into details about the various recommendations of the Commission, nor to Gooroodas Banerjee's disagreement with them in his *Note of Dissent* as the Commission's recommendations faithfully reflected Curzon's views on the reform of the Indian universities, first elaborately delineated in his minute on 23 February 1901 and later discussed and endorsed at the Conference at Simla. What is interesting to note here is the Commission's views on legislation to implement the changes suggested in its recommendations. The Commission felt since the changes did not "involve repeal of the existing Acts of Incorporation" the Legislature could "give effect to our proposal by passing a General Indian University Act, which would be construed as supplementing and amending the Acts of Incorporation."

Recommendations leaked out and a Storm blew

Curzon never wanted to make the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission public just as he had earlier prevented the proceedings of the Conference at Simla from becoming public. However, a local newspaper got hold of a copy of the report "probably through the agency of some clerk" and began in his words, "publishing a series of daily denunciations of the Government or rather of myself, for having rung the death-knell of higher education in India." "You are certain to be attacked", consoled Hamilton,

"If you attempt to in any way purify University Education and to free it from its existing excrescences. The Babu believes that one of the main objects for which British Rule was established in India was to enable him to get university degree; and any attempt to heighten the standard is sure to meet with violent abuses. But I have been so long the subject of almost universal abuse and misrepresentation by the Indian Press, that I am compelled to attach little importance to what they say."

A fortnight after Hamilton had despatched his letter to Curzon from London, Curzon wrote to Sir Henry Cotton on 31 August, "The Bengalis are denouncing me like fury because the University Commission has reported in a sense that they dislike. They seem to think that I both dominated the enquiry and wrote the Report. What a strange people! They take the heart of one." Ten days later,

he wrote to Hamilton, "the Town Hall and the Senate Hall of the university have been packed with shouting and perspiring graduates, and my name has been loudly hissed as the author of the doom of higher education."

Curzon's Reactions to the Agitation against University Reform

Curzon psychologically reacted to the "fierce agitation" as he described it in one of his letters to Hamilton, put up by the Indians not only in Bengal, but also in Bombay and Madras and decided to consult the local governments before drafting the Indian Universities Bill based on the recommendations of the Commission. As there had not been much differences in the views offered by them, he went ahead with the drafting of the Indian Universities Bill.

State Paper on Education

At the same time he asked Ibbetson, Risley and Organge to help him prepare a State Paper on education "to assuage the ill feeling that may be aroused in some quarters by the Universities Bill, and that the public may be more inclined to accept reforms which are shown to be part of a great scheme, conceived on liberal principles and directed towards raising the standard of every aspect of education."

Financial Provision

In the same vein and acting on the same principle Curzon also added a provision to the Indian Universities Bill for financially assisting the Indian universities for a period of five years "to gild as much as we can, that somewhat unpalatable pill that we are offering to the native patient, and the greater the generosity that we can show at the present juncture, the more likely are we to disarm antagonism and to succeed."

The State Paper on Indian education was issued on 11 March 1904, and the Indian Universities Bill was passed, despite stiff resistance by G.K. Gokhale and Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya, and became an Act on 21 March 1904 marking the end of "a long and arduous struggle conducted for five years in the face of every discouragement and of bitter opposition." Two days after the Bill had been passed, Curzon privately sent an identical letter to the Governors of Bombay and Madras and the Lt. Governors of the

North-Western Provinces and Bengal. It read, "The Universities Bill is now passed into Law; and the various Chancellors of the universities will before long be called upon to take action under it." Next day he wrote to Godley in a very relaxed mood, "Here I have had the stiffest session on record, and have carried the Universities Bill, *which was my child*."¹

The Indian Universities Act

The Indian Universities Act introduced radical changes into the five existing universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Allahabad. Among these were, an enlargement of the functions of the university; reduction in the size of the University Senates; introduction of the principles of election; statutory recognition of the Syndicates where university teachers were to be given an adequate representation; stricter conditions for the affiliation of colleges to a university; definition of the territorial limits of the universities; provision for a grant of Rs. 5 lakh a year for five years for implementing these changes to the five Indian universities and finally powers to the government to make additions and alterations while approving of the regulations passed by the Senates.

The Validating Act of February 1905

The Act, which had not found favour with the educated Indians, created problems when the government set about to carry it out. The validity of the directions issued by the Chancellor of the Bombay University to the effect that the election should be held by the faculties, was challenged in the Bombay High Court immediately after the provisional Syndicates had been chosen. It was soon clear that similar action was going to be taken at Calcutta also and that the controversy would soon "extend to Madras, Allahabad, and Lahore and that litigation may become general." Curzon wanted to put a speedy end to the doubts raised about the interpretation of the Indian Universities Act. He wanted to straighten matters regarding the validity of some of the directions issued under it by the Chancellors by legislation, as suggested by the Governor of Bombay, and introduce a bill in his Legislative Council validating the action of the Chancellors as well as the constitution of the senates and the syndicates. The validating bill

1. Italics are mine.

was passed into law on 10 February 1905. It provided that all directives purporting to have been constituted under the Indian Universities Act of 1904 had been duly issued and constituted.

STATE PAPER ON EDUCATION

We have already noted how Curzon wanted to project the reform of university education as a part of his attempt to reform the entire system of education in India to assuage public feelings. The State Paper on education was prepared with that end in view. It was formulated out of the 150 resolutions taken on the different aspects of Indian education at the Conference held in Simla in September 1901, and was issued as a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council on Indian education on 11 March 1904—a few days before the passing of the Indian Universities Act on 21 March 1904. Needless to say, this is the first comprehensive document on Indian education policy ever issued by the Government of India since the emergence of a modern system of education in 1854.

Extent of the Education System in 1904 and its Merits and Defects

The document which consists of some 46 paragraphs extending over nearly 50 pages, begins with a brief sketch of the educational developments in the country till 1854, and then critically analysed the system created in 1904. The system included five universities which prescribed courses and examined some 23,009 students of the 191 affiliated colleges, scattered throughout the country. Provision was made for studies in Arts and Oriental learning, and for professional courses of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Teaching and Agriculture. Below the colleges were secondary schools, to the number of 5,498, with an attendance of 558,378 students and primary schools numbering 98,538 with 3,268,726 pupils. Including the special schools, the technical and industrial schools of art, and the normal schools for teachers, the total number of colleges and schools amounted to 105,306 with 3,887,493 pupils. If "private institutions" which did not conform with departmental standards were added to these, the total number of schools under the Education Department reached about 4½ millions. There was no doubt that this education system had substantially benefited the people in many respects—in the spread of knowledge, in opening up new avenues of employment and in recording a "marked

improvement" in the character of the public servants now chosen from the educated Indians. However, its shortcomings in point of quality needed no demonstration. As the document pointed out, "Four villages out of five are without a school; three boys out of four grow up without education and only one girl in forty attends any kind of school."

The main charges brought against the system could be generally grouped under five heads: First, the higher education was pursued with too exclusive a view to entering government service, which unduly narrowed its scope, and those who failed to obtain employment under government were ill fitted for other pursuits. Secondly, excessive importance was given to examinations. Thirdly, the courses of study were too literary in character. Fourthly, the schools and colleges exercised the intelligence of the students too little, and taxed their memory too much, so that mechanical repetition took the place of sound learning. And finally in the pursuit of English education the vernaculars were neglected, with the result that the hope expressed in the Despatch of 1854 that they would become the vehicle for diffusing Western knowledge among the masses was far from realization.

The Governor-General in Council reviewed the existing methods of instruction closely and came to the conclusion that it stood in need of a substantial reform. With the object in view the Resolution of 11 March 1904 reviewed the whole subject of education in its various aspects, indicating the defects that required correction in each of its branches and the remedies which ought to be applied now.

Education and Government Service

The Resolution referred to the suggestion that the higher interests of education in India were injuriously affected by the prevailing system of basing selection for government services on the academic attainments of the candidates; and that separate examinations for the public service be organized on the model of the English Civil Service Commission under the control of a special board. However the Government of India could not accept this suggestion. It stressed that in fixing the educational standards which qualified individuals for appointments, the natural division of primary, secondary and university education should be followed—school and college certificates of proficiency should be

accepted as full evidence of educational qualifications, regard being paid, within the limits of each standards, to their comparative value. Due weight was also to be attached to the recorded opinions of collegiate and school authorities regarding the proficiency and conducts of candidates during their period of tuition.

The Abuses of Examinations

The Resolution then dwelt on the abuses of the examinations which had in recent years grown to extravagant dimensions—confining the instruction within the rigid framework of courses and neglecting all forms of training which did not admit of being tested by written examinations. These demoralizing tendencies had been further encouraged by the practice of assessing grants to aided schools upon the results shown by examination which was based on a similar practice, now condemned in England. This was to be replaced now by more equitable tests of efficiency, depending on the number of scholars in attendance, the buildings provided for their accommodation, the circumstances of the locality, the qualifications of the teachers, the nature of the instruction given, and the outlay from other sources such as fees and private endowments or subscriptions. In future there was to be only two examinations—the first of these to mark the completion of the lowest stage of instruction, testing the degree of proficiency attained in the highest classes of primary schools and the second was to take place at the end of the secondary, usually an Anglo-Vernacular course, recording the educational attainments of all those who had completed this course. In both the stages of instruction special provision was made for the award of scholarships.

Government Control and Private Enterprise

The Resolution accepted the progressive devolution of primary, secondary and collegiate education upon private enterprise and the continuous withdrawal of government from competition, as recommended by the Hunter Commission in 1883. It also recognized the utmost importance of limiting the number of institutions—in each branch of education by the government both as models for private enterprises to follow as well as in order to uphold a high standard of education. In withdrawing from direct management, it was further essential that the government retain a general control by means of efficient inspection over all public educational institutions.

Primary Education

The Resolution asserted that the Government of India fully accepted the proposition that the active extension of primary education was one of the most important duties of the state as recommended by the Hunter Commission in 1883. It undertook the responsibility not merely on general grounds but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." The extension of railways had helped commercialization of agriculture in India. The cultivator had been brought into contact with the commercial world, and involved in transactions in which an illiterate man was at a great disadvantage. The Census of 1901 revealed that only one in ten of the male population, and seven in a thousand of the female population were literate (when the population of British India was over two hundred and forty millions). These figures exhibited the vast dimensions of the problem and showed how much remained to be done before the proportion of the population receiving elementary instruction could approach the standard recognized as compulsory in more advanced countries.

The Government of India realised that primary education had till then received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They acknowledged that it possessed a strong claim to the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the Local Governments, and that it should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues. In those provinces where primary education was in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. In order to ensure that the claims of primary education received due attention, it was essential that the educational authorities be heard when resources were being allotted and that they should have the opportunity of carrying their representations to a higher authority in the event of their being disregarded. In future, so much of the budget estimates of District or Municipal Boards as related to educational charges was to be submitted through the Inspector to the Director of Public Instruction before sanction. Secondly, the Government of India looked with favour upon the extension of kindergarten methods and object lesson as practised in Madras and Bombay in order to correct some of the inherent defects of the Indian intellect, to

discourage exclusive reliance on the memory, and to develop a capacity for reasoning from observed facts. Physical exercises, it held, should as far as possible be made universal in the primary schools. In the case of rural schools, the aim should be not to impart definite agricultural teaching but to give to the children a preliminary training which would make them intelligent cultivators, would train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and would protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they paid rent and the grain dealers to whom they disposed of their crops. The books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. This and other reforms in primary schools would involve some revision of the pay of primary teachers which varied greatly, and in some provinces was too small to attract or to retain a satisfactory class of men.

Secondary Education

The Resolution admitted that the growth of secondary instruction was "one of the most striking features in the history of education in India" though the progress had been accompanied by a substantial increase in the number of inefficient institutions as had no capable teachers, sufficient furniture, adequate library, proper building and adequate sports and hostel facilities. The document stressed the need for applying stringent conditions while recognizing these schools making them eligible for grants-in-aid and for preparing students for admission to universities and public service. The Resolution noted the "too literary" character of the courses pursued in the schools and also the attempts made to introduce alternative courses, following the recommendations of the Hunter Commission, in order to meet the needs of the boys who were destined for industrial or commercial pursuits that had not till then met with success. However the Government of India would try to promote diversified types of secondary education, corresponding with the varying needs of practical life, in the present stage of social and industrial development.

The problems of choice of subjects to be taught and the means by which proficiency in them was tested could be solved by adopting the system of no examinations, at the conclusion of the secondary course, which had been tried with success in other

countries, to Indian conditions. They would be of a more searching character than the present Entrance Test and the certificate given at the end would be evidence that the holder had received a sound education in a recognised school, that he had borne a good character, and that he had really learnt what the school professed to have taught him—it would then deserve recognition not only by government and universities but also by a large body of private employers who were in need of well-trained assistants in their various lines of activity.

The Resolution stated that the secular character of the government institutions where no scriptures were taught had stimulated tendencies unfavourable to discipline and had encouraged the growth of a spirit of irreverence in the rising generation. The remedy lay not so much in any formal methods of teaching conduct by means of moral text-books or primers of personal ethics as in the influence of carefully selected and trained teachers, the maintenance of a high standard of discipline, the institutions of well-managed hostels, the proper selection of text-books such as biographies which taught by example, and above all in the association of teachers and pupils in the common interests of their daily life. The Resolution announced the framing of rules to regulate the admission of scholars to government and aided schools and their promotion on transfer from one school to another so as to secure that a record of their conduct was maintained and that irregularities and breaches of discipline not passed unnoticed. These rules would now be extended to all unaided schools which desired to enjoy the benefits of recognition.

Medium of Instruction

The Resolution made significant observations on the medium of instruction. As a general rule, a child should not be allowed to learn English as a language until he had made some progress in the primary stages of instruction and had received a thorough grounding in his mother tongue. While the dividing line between the use of vernacular and of English should be drawn at a minimum age of 13, no scholar in a secondary school should be allowed to abandon the study of his vernacular, which should be kept up until the end of the school course. "If the educated classes neglect the cultivation of their own languages, these will assuredly sink to the level of mere colloquial dialects possessing no literature

worthy of the name, and no progress will be possible in giving effect to the principle, affirmed in the Despatch of 1854, that European knowledge should gradually be brought, by means of the Indian vernaculars, within the reach of all classes of people", the Resolution observed.

Female Education

Despite the fact that the government agreed with the view that a "far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men" alone, and had accordingly treated this branch of education liberally in respect of scholarships and fees, female education as a whole was still in a very backward condition. The number of female scholars in public schools in the year 1901-02 was 444,470 or less than a ninth of the number of male scholars. The Resolution expressed the hope that with the increase of the funds assigned in aid of education the recommendations of the Hunter Commission for the extension would now be fruitful. The measure taken for further advance included establishment in important centres model primary girls' school, an increase in the number of training schools with more liberal assistance to those already in existence, and a strengthening of the staff of inspectresses. The Government of India also desired to encourage missionary efforts and *zenana* teaching in promoting female education by grants-in-aid.

University Education

The Resolution referred to the recent changes in the character of the London University which had acted as a model to the universities in India earlier and had now set an example of expansion that could not "fail to react upon the corresponding institutions in India." It referred to the defects of university education and to the appointment of a Commission with Raleigh as President to report upon the constitution and working of the universities, to recommend measures for elevating the standard of university teaching and promoting the advancement of learning. After full consideration of the report of the Commission and of the criticisms which it called forth, the Government of India came to the conclusion that certain reforms in the constitution and management of the universities were necessary. It outlined these reforms and mentioned the financial aid it proposed to give in order to carry

out the necessary improvement in the universities and their affiliated colleges. This included more than 400 schools and colleges for Europeans and Eurasians in India with nearly 30,000 scholars costing annually Rs. 42 ½ lakhs (of which Rs. 8 ½ lakhs came from public funds) as well as for the improvement of Chief's Colleges set up at Ajmer, Rajkot and Lahore where some of the features of the English public school system had been reproduced.

Technical Education, Schools of Art, Industrial Schools, Commercial and Agricultural Education

After having referred to the measures including liberal financial support for the improvement of the universities, the Resolution turned its attention to technical education in India. The Resolution mentioned about the attempt of the government hitherto directed to train men for government service as engineers, mechanics, electricians, overseers, surveyors, revenue officers or teachers in schools, and for employment in railway workshops, cotton-mills, and mines, through the Engineering Colleges established at Rurki, Sibpur and Madras, the Colleges of Science at Poona, the Technical Institute at Bombay and the Engineering School at Jubulpur. It stressed the need for developing a technical course which could be imparted "in schools of ordinary type." In fixing the aim of the technical schools, the supply or expansion of the existing Indian markets was to be of superior importance to the creation of new export trades. As a step towards providing men qualified to take a leading part in the improvement of Indian industries, the Government of India had decided to give assistance in the form of scholarships to selected students in order to enable them to pursue a course of technical education in Europe or America.

Regarding the Schools of Art and Industries in British India, at Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and Lahore, the Resolution pointed out that these institutions gave training on subjects like designing, painting, illumination, modelling, photography and engraving as the pupil intended to pursue when he had left the school. It was suggested that free admission and scholarship should be discouraged and should gradually be replaced by payment of fees.

The Government of India did not expect a large immediate increase in the number of industrial schools the number of which stood at 123 with 8,405 pupils in attendance, and the number of different trades taught as 48 but it desired rather to confine their

institutions to boys belonging to the specialised caste or occupational groups who were likely to practise the crafts taught in the schools. The courses of study were to be so ordered as not to tend themselves to the manufacture of clerks, but to bear exclusively upon carefully selected industries.

The Resolution which spoke of the attempts to provide commercial education at Bombay, Lucknow, Calcutta, and Amritsar and the encouraging response it had met asserted that increased attention would now be given to the extension of such teaching adapted to Indian needs in large centres of commerce and population. In this context the Resolution indicated a great deficiency in agricultural technology for a country like India where two-thirds of the population were dependent for their livelihood on the produce of the soil.

There was no institution capable of imparting "a complete agricultural education." The existing schools or colleges at Poona (Bombay), Saidapet (Madras), Cawnpore (U.P.), Nagpur (M.P.) and at Sibpur (Bengal) "have not wholly succeeded, either in theory or in practice. They have neither produced scientific experts, nor succeeded in attracting members of the landholding classes to qualify themselves as practical agriculturists." The Resolution spoke of a scheme of establishing an Imperial Agricultural College in connection with an Experimental Farm and Research Laboratory under the supervision of the Inspector General of Agricultural Science combined with constant practice in farm work and estate management.

Training Institutions for Teachers

The Resolution accepted the Hunter Commission's recommendation that an examination in the principles and practice of teaching should be made a condition for permanent employment as a teacher in any secondary school, "if, in a word, European knowledge is to be diffused by the methods proper to it." There existed at Madras, Kurseong, Allahabad, Lahore and Jubulpur institutions in which teachers were trained for service, and the time had come to extend the system to the provinces where it did not exist, notably in Bombay. The Resolution spoke in favour of developing training institutions for secondary school teachers which should be as well-equipped as Arts Colleges, with good practising schools attached to each one of them. The period of training for students

in a Training College must be at least two years, except in the case of graduates, for whom one year's training might suffice. It should be a university course, culminating in a university degree or diploma. The scheme of instruction should be determined by the authorities of the Training College and by the Education Department and the examination at the close of it should be controlled by the same authorities. This was to be followed by an orientation programme for the trained teachers for better impact on secondary school teaching.

The Resolution felt that there should be an increase in the number of Normal Schools for primary teachers particularly in some provinces like Bengal, with an increase in the salaries paid to primary teachers to induce them to undergo a course of training which should in future be of a duration "not less than two years." For the rural schools the object of courses should be to serve the more limited and practical purpose of supplying them with teachers whose stock-in-trade was not mere book learning, and whose interests had been aroused in the study of rural activities, so that they might be able to connect their teaching with the objects which were familiar to the children in the country or village schools.

Hostels

The Resolution attached great importance to the provision of hostels or boarding houses, under proper supervision, in connection with colleges and secondary schools. These institutions protected the resident students from the moral dangers of life in large towns; provided common interests and created a spirit of healthy companionship, and they were in accord not only with the usage of English public schools and colleges but also with the ancient Indian tradition that the pupil should live in the charge of his teacher. The returns for the year 1901-02 showed that there were then 1,415 hostels with 47,302 boarders. The Government of India desired an extension of the system which under direct supervision by the teachers exercised a profound influence on student life in India.

Administration

The Resolution suggested an increasing stringency in inspection and a substantial strengthening of the inspecting staff who should not only judge the results of teaching but guide and advise

as to its methods and courses taught in view of the reduction in the numbers of examinations which was being carried out and the general raising of educational standards which was contemplated. Their assistance could only be enlisted by increasing the cadre of the Indian Educational Service then consisting of two branches—superior and subordinate. The Resolution decided to add four posts of officers to the Indian Educational Service in order to provide the Directors of Public Instruction in Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces with assistants, upon whom part of their duties of making themselves acquainted with the educational conditions of their provinces and the circumstances of the numerous schools under their control might be devolved. Members of the Indian Educational Service when on furlough would be provided with facilities to keep themselves abreast of the advances which were now being made in England and other countries of Europe.

Conclusion

Thus the Education Resolution of 1904 reviewed the history and progress of Western education under British rule in India: the objects it sought to accomplish and the means which it employed. The Resolution showed how the principles accepted since 1854 were consistently followed and affirmed by the Education Commission of 1882 and how they were now being further extended and developed, in response to the growing needs of the country by the combined efforts of the Government of India and the Provincial Governments.

"The system of education thus extended", observed the Resolution, "makes provision in varying degrees for all forms of intellectual activity that appeal to a civilised community. It seeks to satisfy the aspirations of students in the domains of learning, and research; it supplies the Government with a succession of upright and intelligent, public servants; it trains workers in every branch of commercial enterprise that has made good its footing in India; it attempts to develop the resources of the country and to stimulate and improve indigenous arts and industries; it offers to all classes of society a training suited to their position in life; and for these ends it is organized on lines which admit of indefinite expansion as the demand for education grows and public funds or private liberality afford a large measure of support." It now rested with

the people themselves to use wisely the opportunities thus offered by the labours of the Government of India in framing the Resolution on Indian Education Policy. "Those labours", the Resolution pointed out, "have been undertaken in the hope that they will command the hearty support of the leaders of native thought and of the great body of workers in the field of Indian Education. On them the Governor-General-in-Council relies to carry on and complete a task which the Government can do no more than begin."

National Education till 1912

Curzon's university reform not only provided a comprehensive document on the Government of India's education policy but also activated Indian intellectuals' attempt at generating a parallel system of education, called national education, which received a shot in the booster when the movement against Curzon's partition of Bengal started in 1905. National education became one of the issues on which the Swadeshi Movement which grew out of the Anti-Partition Movement was built up and in 1906 it was also one of the issues on which the Moderates and the Extremists failed to agree—leading to a split the following year of the Indian National Congress at Surat.

Genesis of National Education before Curzon

However, the idea of a national system of education, more appropriately Indian education in spirit and substance, did not suddenly emerge as a reaction to the passing of the Indian Universities Act in 1905–06. In 1890–92, in his Convocation Address as the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Gooroodas Banerjee had drawn attention to some of the most glaring defects from the point of view of intellectual training and of discipline of the system set up by the Education Despatch of 1854. He suggested, among others, the urgent introduction of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction, university fellowships for the promotion of original researches and adequate arrangement for technical education. About the sametime Rabindranath Tagore in his paper on *Shikshar Her Fer*, published in December 1892—

January 1893 issue of *Sadhana*, pointed out clearly the inadequacy of the prevailing system of education under the British Raj and pleaded for acceptance of Bengali as the medium of instruction. Tagore's views on education in *Sadhana* were fully supported by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Goroindas Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose and Lokendra Nath Palit. Far away from Bengal at Deoband, which was established in 1898 Darul-Uloom, Nadwatul Ulema which attracted students from all parts of India and Islamic countries outside India. This residential institution was not certainly as orthodox as the one set up much earlier at Deoband in 1864 which was regarded as the fourth Muslim University of the World offering instruction in Arabic, Persian, Tajveid (reciting of the Holy Quran), Tybb (Unani Medicine) and Tabligh (missionary activity).

Indian Universities Commission and the Indian Universities Act

In 1898, immediately before the arrival of Curzon on the scene, Satish Chandra Mukherjee as the editor of the *Dawn* observed how the prevalent system of university education had failed to satisfy all the parties concerned. When therefore Curzon spoke of a faulty and rotten education system being in need of reform in his first Convocation Address at Calcutta in 1899, he was profoundly applauded by the audience present there. Despite the exclusion of an Indian educationist from the Conference at Simla, the proceedings of which were kept secret, and the omission of a Hindu representative at first on the Indian Universities Commission, the intelligentsia in Bengal and elsewhere had shown great enthusiasm in Curzon's proposed university reform as could be seen from the article entitled, "An Examination into the Present System of University Education in India and a Scheme of Reform" written by Satish Chandra Mukherjee in the April, May, June 1902 issues of the *Dawn*. However, the report of the Indian Universities Commission shattered their hopes and aspirations when they found that Curzon's main aim was to restrict the area of higher education and to deprive them of the control of their universities. Besides writing in his own paper, Satish Chandra Mukherjee offered the most uncompromising opposition to the Commission's report through the editorial columns of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee* edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee. Not content with a

mere theoretical discussion in these papers, Mukherjee founded in July 1902, a society named after the paper he edited, to continue to focus attention on the subject.

Partition of Bengal

In the wake of the Indian Universities Act which reflected the recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission, came the partition of Bengal in October 1905. The British Raj felt the preponderance of the Bengalis in provincial politics was "most desirable" to diminish and this could best be achieved by dividing them: "Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull several different ways." The partition of Bengal was an insult to the sense of unity and of pride developed among the Bengalees ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century Bengal Renaissance. When the partition of Bengal was effected on 16 October 1905, the day was observed as a day of national mourning for the whole of Bengal. The people of Bengal rose like one man to resist, to suffer and to sacrifice. A new tone, a new perspective, a new dimension hitherto unknown was added to the national movement in India and for all this, as Gokhale acknowledged in his presidential address at the December Benares Congress which condemned the partition of Bengal emphatically, "India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal." Spearheaded by the students who represented youth and dream, vigour and selfless dedication and joined by the workers and the peasants, the clerks and the teachers who had been affected most by the rising prices since 1904, the Anti-Partition Movement soon broke away from traditional moorings and after transcending its rather limited and immediate objective broadened into a struggle for *Swaraj*.

National Council of Education

In Bengal, British crackdown on student picketers through the Carlyle Circular on 22 October 1905, which threatened to withdraw all grants, scholarships and affiliations from the nationalist dominated institutions climaxed into the urge for the boycott of government controlled education—an urge which had been growing in Bengal ever since the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission in 1902, the creation of the Dawn society by Satish Chandra Mukherjee, and the passing of the Indian Universities Act in 1904. Within a month of the Carlyle circular, on 4 November

1905, the Anti-Circular Society presided over by Krishna Kumar Mitra of the *Sanjivani* and sympathised critically by Tagore was born. The Moderates like Banerjea, Bhupendranath Basu and Ashutosh Chaudhuri combined with the Extremists like Bipin Chandra Pal, Motilal Ghosh and Brahma Bandhav, who described the government controlled Calcutta University as the house of slaves at Goldighi, in organising a National Council of Education which was financed by the Zamindars of Mymansingh and leading lawyers like Subodh Chandra Mallick and formally inaugurated the Bengal National College on 14 August 1906.

Aurobindo became the principal of the college. The young followers of Satish Chandra Mukherjee formed the nucleus of its teaching staff. Vernacular was to be the chief medium of instruction but foreign languages were not to be neglected. Scientific and technical education were calculated to develop the material resources of the country and to satisfy its pressing needs. Unfortunately the National Council of Education could not retain its unity for long and the Moderates headed by Taraknath Palit set up a rival organisation called the Society for the Promotion of Technical Education which founded a college, the Bengal Technical Institute, and a large number of national high schools numbering more than 50 (11 in West Bengal and 40 in East Bengal) as estimated by the *Quinquennial Review of Education* for the period 1907-12. Managed by Indians who were inspired by a love for their motherland, these institutions included courses on religion and culture, emphasised the importance of vocational education and urged the development of modern Indian languages by adopting one of them as the medium of instruction. However, these institutions were often sectarian in character and to that extent less national. They had also to submit themselves to governmental inspection for recognition, for without recognition they would not be able to receive grants-in-aid and therefore survive as the financial support from the patriotic Indians was not often adequate.

Gokhale's Attempts at introducing Compulsory Primary Education

In December 1911, Hardinge who succeeded Minto annulled the partition of Bengal to stem the tide of rising nationalism. Bihar and Orissa were taken out of Bengal and Assam was created a separate province. The Anti-Partition Movement which provided

the framework for national education died and with that also the zeal for national education, but its spirit was kept alive by the Congress leaders like G.K. Gokhale. Gokhale believed that "an illiterate and ignorant nation can never make any solid progress and must fall back in the race for life." Influenced by the example in England which introduced a new era in primary education in 1902 and by the act of the Baroda State of making primary education compulsory in 1906, he moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on 19 March 1910. It stated, "That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals." The Bill suggested that free and compulsory education for boys between the age of 6 and 10 especially in those areas where 33 per cent of the male population was already at school be introduced. The expenditure was to be shared between the local bodies and the government in the proportion of 1 : 2 and a separate post of the level of a Secretary be created to look after the implementation of the scheme. However, the motion was withdrawn when the Government of India promised to look into the matter carefully. A Department of Education was created at the Centre to devise a scheme for a better extension of primary education and a policy of creating an Imperial Grant was recommended.

When within the next one year nothing tangible was done for the progress of primary education in British India, Gokhale introduced a private Bill "to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary educational system of the country" on 16 March 1911. First, the Bill when passed into an Act would apply to those areas of local bodies where certain specific percentage of boys and girls to be decided by the Government of India was already attending the schools. Secondly, the local bodies were fully empowered to enforce the Act with the prior consent of the government concerned to the whole or any specified area within their jurisdiction. It was incumbent on the parents to send their boys and later girls, between 6 and 10 years of age to schools and any one failing to do so was to be liable to punishment. Finally, local bodies were permitted to levy an educational cess supplemented by the grants-in-aid from the governments concerned. Since the financial aspect of the Bill was to

decide its acceptance or rejection in the Council, Gokhale thus explained: "It is obvious that the whole working of this Bill must depend, in the first instance, upon the share, which the Government is prepared to bear, of the cost of compulsory education, wherever it is introduced. I find that in England, the Parliamentary grants cover about two-thirds of the total expenditure on elementary schools. In Scotland, it amounts to more than that proportion whereas in Ireland it meets practically the whole cost. I think that we are entitled to ask in India, that at least two-thirds of the total expenditure should be borne by the state."

The Bill was circulated for opinion and came up for discussion on 17 March 1912. The debate lasted for two days and in course of the debates it was clear that the Government of India was not willing to accept the Bill. The official members who were in a clear majority in the Imperial Legislative Council as well as the non-official members consisting of the landed classes were opposed to the passing of the Bill despite the eloquent pleading of Gokhale. It was argued that there was no popular demand for compulsory primary education, that the local bodies as well as the provincial governments were against this measure as this would involve them in many a difficulty in respect of organisation and administration of this subject and finally the step was premature and unnecessary as the cause of primary education in India could well be attended by the system of grants-in-aid in vogue. So when the motion to refer the Bill to the Select Committee was put to vote, it was rejected by 38 votes to 13.

However, as Gokhale had observed in his concluding speech in the Imperial Legislative Council, "we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures." Primary education began to receive increasing attention from the Government of India which now sanctioned a recurring grant of Rs. 50 lakhs and a non-recurring grant of Rs. 84 lakhs for the purpose. While free compulsory primary education was engaging the attention of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, it was made free in the North Western Provinces in 1912, and in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Assam and the Central Provinces nominal fees were charged.

Significance

With the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911 enthusiasm for national education certainly ebbed but it must be said to the credit of this movement that it did create an awareness among the people of the need for a system of education which was to be Indian in spirit and substance. Most secondary schools adopted modern Indian languages as the medium of instruction, replaced photographs of the British monarch with those of the Indian national leaders. The song "God Save the King" was replaced by *Bande Mataram* except on a few tense occasions, when the singing of the latter and other national songs became a common practice in most school assemblies. Thus the movement for national education was atleast able to create an environment of patriotism in secondary and collegiate institutions though it failed to achieve any substantial progress either in the number of institutions or of students.

Government of India Resolution on Indian Education

While Gokhale's Bill on primary education was pending with the Imperial Legislative Council, King George V and his wife Queen Mary visited India. Addressing the Delhi Durbar on 12 December 1911, he announced an additional grant of fifty lakhs of rupees for primary education and expressed a desire that "there may be spread over the land a network of schools and colleges." After the rejection of Gokhale's Bill in March 1912, the Under Secretary of State for India admitted in the House of Commons in course of his discussion on the Indian budget, the need for paying greater attention to Indian education, allotted £ 330,000 annually to education and proclaimed that the number of primary schools would be increased by 75 per cent, with their pupils doubled. This, coupled with administrative changes brought about by the Government of India Act of 1909, led the Government of India to review the whole field of education and to issue the Government of India's Resolution on Indian Education Policy on 21 February 1913.

Higher Education

This Resolution unlike the Resolution on 11 March 1904 is not an authoritative declaration of a bold policy in education but a review of the developments in education that had taken place since 1904. However, like the Resolution of 11 March 1904 it indicated defects in the system and suggested measures to rectify

them. Echoing the development in the organization of British universities which were fast becoming unitary, teaching and residential institutions, the Resolution declared that there would be a university for each province of British India, that teaching activities of universities would be encouraged and that mofussil colleges would be developed into teaching universities with provision for research in due course. It may be mentioned here that by 1912 there had been only 5 universities and 185 colleges and the need for the increase in their number for a growing population could hardly be exaggerated.

Secondary Education

The Resolution criticised the complete withdrawal of government from the field of secondary education and suggested that state schools should be retained as model institutions. While encouraging private enterprise by suitable grants-in-aid, the Resolution stressed the need for adequate inspection. It advocated the introduction of vocational courses at the secondary stages, which would be free from the domination of Matriculation requirements. In the case of girls, it suggested a special curriculum of practical utility for them, not much importance to the examination of girls' education and increase of women teachers and inspectresses.

Primary Education

Thirdly, the Resolution stressed the need for expanding primary education—starting lower primary schools where only three R's were taught and upper primary schools at suitable places as well as by creating local board schools in place of private aided schools. Its suggested that *maktabs* and *patshalas* should be adequately subsidised and the teachers should be drawn from the same class to which the primary school students belonged. It was only by expanding primary education "that illiteracy must be broken" and though the Government of India was unable to recognise "the principle of compulsory education", it desired the widest possible extension of primary education on a voluntary basis and hoped to see in near future some 91,000 primary public schools added to the existing 100,000 and the doubling of 4 ¼ millions of pupils who now received instructions in them.

The Resolution also spoke about the need for giving proper training to primary and secondary school teachers, improving

their salaries and retirement benefits, giving moral and religious instruction to students—a departure from the Education Resolution of 1904—and emphasised proper supervision of students' hostels. Thus as said before the 1912 Resolution was more for improving the standard of existing institutions than for increasing their number.

Implementation

The Resolution was immediately implemented and by 1917 almost the entire primary education in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, the North-West Frontier Province, and Assam was monopolized by board schools. However, in other provinces the government could not oust the private schools on which it had relied so long to spread elementary education, though in Bengal it started the "Panchayati Union Scheme" by which the government provided at its own cost one model lower primary school with 3 classes in each "union" (of about 14 square miles) and entrusted its management to the district board. These model schools were models only in terms of having better buildings than private *maktabs* and *pathshalas*; their curriculum was not useful, their teachers were ill-paid and often their management was neglected by the boards. By 1917 there was on an average one boys' school to every 8 square miles, and the number of boys attending primary schools of some sort was less than 33 per cent of the number of boys of school age in British India.

The Calcutta University Commission

Appointment of the Commission

While issuing the Education Resolution of 1913, the Government of India planned to appoint a Commission on university education under Lord Haldane who had presided over a similar Commission on London University earlier. However, it could not materialise partly because of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and partly because of the reluctance on his part to accept the assignment. However after the conclusion of the War in 1917, the Government of India appointed the Calcutta University Commission under the Chairmanship of Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, who had earlier declined Curzon's offer of the newly created post of Director-General of Education in India in 1904. The Commission was asked "to inquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the question it presents." Among other members of the Commission were Dr. Gregory, Professor Ramsay Muir, Philip Hartog, the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya and Zia-Uddin Ahmad. After a hard labour of 17 months during which it visited other universities in British India, the Commission submitted its report in 13 volumes giving a critical account of the working of the Calcutta University and indicating the lines on which higher education in Bengal should develop in future. The report investigated the problems which were common to the other four univer-

sities in India as well and its recommendations provided the basis for the future development of university education in India.

Problems of Secondary Education

The Commission first studied the problems of secondary education because it held the view that improvement of secondary education was an essential foundation for the improvement of university education. The Commission therefore recommended "a radical reorganisation of the system of secondary education" after a close and critical study—it suggested the formation of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education consisting of representatives of government, university, high schools and intermediate colleges with full power of managing secondary and intermediate education; the separation of the intermediate classes from degree colleges by instituting separate intermediate colleges providing instruction in arts, science, medicine, engineering, education, agriculture, commerce and industry and finally the admission test for universities should be the passing of an examination from the intermediate colleges. The Commission hoped that by this arrangement the division of authority between the university and the Department of Education, that had plagued secondary education, would disappear and the university would be free from the responsibilities of secondary education to devote its full time to higher education alone. The Commission further recommended use of mother-tongue in the intermediate colleges except for the teaching of English and mathematics.

Problems of the Calcutta University

The Commission then thoroughly examined the problems of the Calcutta University and found that the size of the university had become too large and the number of students and colleges affiliated to it too great to be effectively dealt with by a single institution. It therefore recommended: (a) creation of a teaching and residential university in Dacca; (b) pooling of teaching resources in Calcutta in order to create a real teaching university and finally, (c) development of mofussil colleges in such a way as to make it possible for the gradual rise of new university centres at a few places by concentrating all possible resources for higher education on them.

The Commission also wanted to free the university from the rigid governmental control imposed on it by Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904-05. It recommended the formation of a widely representative Court and an Executive Committee in place of the Senate and the Syndicate respectively. It suggested that teachers should be entrusted with more powers over academic affairs and recommended the formation of Academic Council with full powers over courses of study, examinations and degrees, of various faculties, boards of studies and other statutory bodies. It also recommended the organisation of teaching work in each department under the headship of a faculty member, discussed the case of appointment of a full-time and salaried Vice-Chancellor to head the university and recommended appointment to professorships and readerships through special selection committees including external experts.

The Commission found the courses of instruction "too predominantly literary in character and too little varied to suit various needs" and commented on the inadequate provision for "training in technical subjects." It urged the inclusion of applied science and technology in its courses and asked the university to make provision for the efficient training of personnel needed for the industrial development of the country. The Commission recommended introduction of various courses of instruction in this context, instituted a three-year degree course after the intermediate stage, Honours courses as distinct from the Pass courses of abler students and recommended inclusion of Indian languages among subjects for Pass and Honours degrees. In this context the Commission stressed the need for establishing a link between the university and institutes of Oriental learning. The Commission emphasised the need for increasing the number of trained teachers, recommended the creation of a Department of Education and inclusion of Education as a subject for the intermediate, B.A. and M.A. degree examinations. The commission also recommended the organisation of *purdah* schools for Hindu and Muslim girls whose parents were willing to extend their education up to 15 or 16, a special board for women's education to look after courses particularly suited for women and to organise co-operative arrangements for teaching in the women's colleges and suggested every encouragement for the education of the Muslims. The Commission did not overlook the welfare of the students—suggested creation

of a board of students' welfare and of a post of Director of Physical Education with the rank and salary of a professor. And finally, the Commission recommended the establishment of an Inter-University Board for co-ordinating the activities of various Indian universities.

Recommendations influenced by the Haldane Commission on the London University

Most of the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission were influenced by the Haldane Commission which enquired into the organisation and functions of the London University earlier—some of the Calcutta University Commission's recommendations were therefore unsuitable to Indian conditions prevailing at that time. For example, development of mofussil colleges into future university centres and pooling together of the teaching resources in Calcutta to create a real teaching university on the pattern of Oxford or Cambridge were really beset with great difficulties and complications. Secondly, the recommendation to free the Calcutta University from the burden of secondary education by creating intermediate courses and instituting a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education was excellent no doubt but was far ahead in times and as such liable to failure when implemented. So also was the suggestion of transferring the control of government colleges to non-official governing bodies.

Significance

Despite these limitations inherent in the recommendations of all commissions appointed in India which had always looked to the British model for guidance, there is no doubt that the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission not only reshaped the character of the existing universities in India but showed the lines on which future universities in India would develop. The Calcutta University Commission revolutionised the character of university organisation in India by creating statutory bodies like the Board of Studies and the Academic Council, reshaping the Senate and the Syndicate as the University Court and the Executive Council and by adding new Faculties to make university education more dynamic and more real. It emphasised the selection of the right persons through selection committees with external experts to the posts of Readers and Professors and mooted the

question of appointing a full time salaried Vice-Chancellor to head the university organisation in India. It provided for the further development of modern Indian languages by including them in university courses while keeping in touch with institutions of classical studies. While the introduction of new types of courses and research work improved the tone of university education in India, the suggestion to set up an Inter-University Board provided an unique opportunity to co-ordinate the activities of various universities in India. The greatest contribution of the Calcutta University Commission to university education in India, however, lay in freeing it from the governmental shackles imposed on it by Curzon's Indian Universities Act of 1904-05. Henceforth, the universities in India were to enter an era of freer growth and development—the process of university autonomy and democratisation of higher education in India may be said to have begun with the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

Education under Dyarchy

The Government of India Act of 1919

The year which saw the Calcutta University Commission submit its report also saw the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 by the British Parliament. Based on the reform proposals of Montagu, the Secretary of State, and Chelmsford, the Viceroy, first announced in the House of Commons on 20 August 1917 by Montagu against the background of the Home Rule Movement in India led by B.G. Tilak and Annie Besant, the Act set up a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly with elected majorities but no control over the ministers at the Centre. It introduced dyarchy in the Provinces where departments with less political weight and little funds like education, health, agriculture and local bodies were transferred to ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislatures. Officials were given control of more vital departments like law and order or finance, and the Provincial Governors like the Viceroy at the Centre were given powers to veto plus "certificate" procedure of pushing through rejected Bills. Revenue resources were divided between the Centre and the Provinces and despite some criticism of the separate electorates made in the *Report* in 1918, the Act of 1919 not only retained communal representation and reservations first announced in the Act of 1909 to appease the demand of the Muslim League formed in 1906 but also extended them by conceding the Justice Party demands for non-Brahmin reservations in Madras.

Education in the New Set-up

As mentioned earlier, education was transferred to the Indian ministers but since there was considerable opposition to the idea of a total transfer from the Anglo-Indians, the resident Europeans in India and some provincial governments, the following reservations were made: First, institutions of higher learning including universities with an all-India character, secondly, colleges for Indian princes and similar institutions for members of His Majesty's armed forces and public services, their children, and finally, the education of the Anglo-Indians and the resident Europeans were to be looked after by the Government of India. The Government of India also reserved the right to legislate on university education including establishment, constitution and functions of new universities to give effect to the recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

Limitations

The new set-up worked under many limitations. In the first place, the Government of India stopped spending its own revenues on any transferred subject and discontinued the practice of helping provincial governments with a part of its revenues in education. Second, besides the veto power of the Governors, the Indian ministers had to encounter stiff opposition on many an occasion from the members of the Indian Education Service who were recruited in England and were responsible to the Secretary of State for India through the Governor-General-in-Council. The Indian ministers had little or no control over them and disagreements between the two often created a lot of ill-feeling, which hampered work including education. Ultimately recruitment to the Indian Education Service stopped in 1924 with the recommendation of the Lee Commission on Superior Civil Services in India to the effect that "for the purposes of Local Governments, no further recruitment should be made to the All-India Services which operate in transferred fields." Third, the Government of India ceased to take interest in provincial matters including education which were transferred to Indian ministers. It refused to perform even those of its functions where an element of control was not involved though it continued to publish quinquennial reviews of education concerning different parts of British India. Finally, the provincial governments not only drifted from the Cen-

tral subjects but also created a gulf amongst themselves in the administration of transferred subjects including education. The new set-up doubtless encouraged an exaggerated form of parochialism, overlapping of various experiments and wastage of energy and money. Hence forward, there was to be no uniform development of education for the different parts of British India.

Need for Co-ordination in Education

In these circumstances there was a genuine need for a co-ordinating agency and the Government of India responded to it by setting up the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1921 to offer expert advice on important educational matters referred to it. However within two years, on the recommendations of the Inchaape Committee it was abolished and with it was abolished the Bureau of Education and its publication programme of the selections from educational records, owing to the financial crisis faced by the Government of India. The Department of Education at the Centre was amalgamated with that of Revenue and Agriculture.

Reaction of the Indian National Congress

The Indian National Congress which had denounced the Montagu-Chelmsford reform proposals when published in 1918 as unsatisfactory, was persuaded by Gandhi who emerged as the unquestioned leader of the national movement in December 1919 at Amritsar to give the Act of 1919 a fair trial. However the Hunter Commission Report of 1 May 1920 which absolved the British officials of all blame for the Punjab atrocities including the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre by General Dyer on 13 April 1919,¹ followed by the publication of the harsh terms of the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey on 14 May 1920, changed Gandhi's stand. In the first week of June 1920 the Central Khilafat Committee meeting at Allahabad decided to begin a Non-Co-operation Movement

1. Should not be confused with the Hunter Commission Report of 1882-83. The 1882-83 Commission was presided over by Sir William Hunter who died in 1900. This one was presided over by Lord (also William) Hunter, formerly Solicitor-General of Scotland and at the time of the submission of the *Report*, Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland.

against the British Raj including boycott of titles, Civil Services, police and the army and the movement started on 1 August—a day also memorable for the death of Tilak. In the December 1920 session of the Nagpur Congress Gandhi pressed the Congress to adopt a similar plan of campaign around the three issues of the Punjab wrong, the Khilafat wrong and the *Swaraj* which was left deliberately undefined.

National Education

The Non-Co-operation Resolution passed by the Nagpur Congress in 1920 advised "the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government, and, in place of such schools and colleges, the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces" was encouraged. Within a short period of time national schools and colleges were established throughout the country at Ahmedabad, Benares, Calcutta, Lahore, Patna and Poona. The courses offered by these schools and colleges did not differ much from those offered by government controlled institutions, though the medium of instruction was invariably the mother tongue and the object was to breed a race of Indians to provide leadership to the national movement with a national outlook.

Among the national universities thrown by the national education movement during this period were the Jamia Millia Islamia, the Viswa Bharati and the Gurukul which now adorn the scene of our higher education in the country. A section of the Muslim community opened a number of Azad Schools in Uttar Pradesh and led by Maulana Mohammad Ali in 1920 established the Jamia Millia Islamia or Muslim National University at Aligarh. The university which preferred "the hardships and ordeals of an honourable independence to the enervating security of a permanent grant which would frustrate its noblest ambitions" was transferred to Delhi in 1925. In 1921 Tagore founded the Viswa-Bharati without any financial support from the government, with the object of understanding the diverse cultures of the East and the West and building up a platform for world fellowship, peace and harmony. The Gurukul University which grew out of the *Arya Pratinidhi Sabha* in the Punjab in 1902 was shifted in 1924 to Kangri where it continued to conduct its work in "sylvan solitude ... free from the uneducational influence of city life."

The establishment of national schools and colleges, which functioned with a number of handicaps such as a lack of suitable buildings, trained personnel, equipment and finances certainly led to a decline in the number of pupils attending government recognised schools and colleges. "In 1921 the percentage of decrease in attendance for the whole country was 8.6 (colleges), 5.1 (high schools), and 8.1 (middle schools)" involving great financial loss to the institutions owing to decrease in income through tuition and examination fees.

However, the national school movement came to a sudden end when Gandhi stopped the Non-Co-operation Movement following the *Chauri Chaura* incident, on 5 February 1922. Although short-lived, the movement was significant in formulating the principles of national education, preparing alternative courses suited to national needs and aspirations and in adopting modern Indian languages as the medium of instruction. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education* for the period 1917-1922 observed, "In short, the crisis had left behind the conviction that our educational aims need restatement The political and economic conditions of India have been undergoing change and the national school movement can at least claim that it lent strength to the advocates of educational reform."

Appointment of the Hartog Committee as an Auxiliary Committee of the Simon Commission

On 8 November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Commission to enquire into, and report on the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms as a basis for further action. As per the provision of the Act of 1919, the first such enquiry was to be held after ten years in 1929 when British elections would be held. Since there was a growing probability that the Labour Party would return to power, it was considered safer to forestall the Labour Government by advancing the date by two years. The Commission was to consist of seven British Members of Parliament, including Attlee, under Sir John Simon. The Simon Commission was also asked to submit a report on education and for this purpose an Auxiliary Committee with Philip Hartog as President was formed. Hartog was a former member of the Calcutta University Commission under Sadler as well as an ex-Vice-Chancellor of the newly formed Dacca University.

The Hartog Committee submitted its Report

However, the Simon Commission was boycotted by all political leaders, irrespective of their party affiliations mainly on the ground of exclusion of Indians from a body which was to prepare the future constitution of India. Despite the hostility of the Indian political leaders, the Hartog Committee was able to submit a comprehensive report on Indian education in September 1929. The Committee admitted in its report that during the decade between 1917 and 1927, education had made considerable progress. As the report observed: "Education has come to be regarded generally, as a matter of primary national importance, an indispensable agency in the difficult task of 'nation building'. The attention given to it by legislative councils is both a symptom and evidence of this recognition. The transfer of the Department of Education to popular control, as represented by a Minister, has both increased the public interest in it and made it more sensitive to the currents of public needs and public opinion. Nor is it only the authorities and the well-to-do classes that have welcomed and encouraged the spread of education. Communities which had for long been educationally backward, as for example the Muslim community, have awakened to the need and possibilities of education for their children. The movement has spread to the depressed classes and even to the tribal aborigines, and has stirred a much larger proportion of the people than before to demand education as a right."

Primary Education: Wastage and Stagnation

However, the Hartog Committee was not satisfied with the progress of literacy during the same period. Out of every hundred boys admitted in class I in 1922-23, only 19 were found studying in class IV in 1925-26. "Primary education", the Committee observed, "is ineffective, unless it at least produces literacy. On the average, no child who has not completed a primary course of at least four years will become permanently literate." The gradual decrease in number was ascribed to wastage, that is, premature withdrawal of children from any stage before the completion of the primary course and stagnation, that is, retention of a child in a class for more than one year.

Wastage and stagnation were attributed to (a) the absence of a systematic organisation of adult education, (b) difficulty of providing schools in villages with a population under 500, (c) uneven

distribution of schools and inadequate utilisation of existing schools, (d) shortage of separate boys' and girls' schools or separate schools on communal or religious ground, (e) ineffective teaching, unsuitable curricula, and inadequate inspecting staff and (f) unsatisfactory provision of compulsory primary education. The Committee felt that the problem of primary education was mainly a problem of the villages as nearly 87 per cent of the people lived in villages. Poverty, illiteracy and conservatism of the parents, coupled with lack of communication, particularly in hilly and backward areas or deserts and deltas, seasonal diseases, barriers of caste, religions, communal and linguistic differences, and finally premature engagement of children in agricultural occupations aggravated the problem.

The Committee, therefore, condemned a policy of expansion and recommended one of consolidation in primary education. It recommended, (a) fixing up of the minimum duration of the primary course to a period of four years, (b) liberalisation of school curricula and adjustment of school hours and holidays to seasonal and local requirements, (c) special attention to the lowest class to prevent wastage and stagnation, (d) provision for suitable training, refresher courses and conferences, and salaries for teachers, (e) rural reconstruction work in the village primary schools, (f) strengthening of the inspecting staff, and finally, (g) introduction of compulsion after a careful preparation of the ground by the government which should not feel complacent by handing over the charge of primary education to local bodies but keep an active interest in its expansion.

Secondary Education

In the sphere of secondary education, the Committee noted "an advance in some respects", but found the whole system of secondary education "still dominated by the ideal that every boy who enters a secondary school should prepare himself for the university; and the immense number of failures at the matriculation and in the university examinations indicate a great waste of efforts." It attributed this wastage of time, effort and money of the pupils to (a) the laxity of promotions in the secondary schools from class to class and (b) the absence of a reasonable selective system of courses which would never have permitted a large number of

students to prepare themselves for matriculation examinations with an eye to admission to colleges.

The Committee made the following recommendations to reduce the domination of the matriculation: First, introduction of a more diversified curricula in the middle vernacular schools and admission of a large number of boys in them intended for rural pursuits; and secondly, diversion of more pupils to industrial and commercial careers at the end of the middle school stage and provision for alternative courses in the high school stage preparatory to special instruction in technical and industrial schools. The Committee also observed that as in the case of primary schools, the average quality of the teacher and of the teaching depended to a considerable extent on the pay and conditions of service which though still far from satisfactory had improved in recent years. In no province was the pay of the teacher sufficient to give him the status which his work demanded and in some provinces, for example, Bengal and Bihar, the pay of the teacher was often woefully low. But the most serious difficulty facing the teacher in the great majority of privately managed schools and schools managed by local bodies was "insecurity of tenure." In spite of what had been done in recent years, the conditions of service of the teacher must be greatly altered before the quality of secondary education could become satisfactory.

University Education

The Committee felt satisfied at the growth of university education but found a "too large acceptance" in India of the theory that "a university exists, mainly, if not solely, to pass students through examinations." One of the primary functions of any university was "the training of broad-minded, tolerant and self-reliant citizens" but the universities in India had been "hampered in their work by being overcrowded with students who are not fitted by capacity for university education." The Committee, therefore, observed : "In the interests of university education itself and still more in the interests of the lower educational institutions which feed the universities and of the classes from which university students are drawn, the time has come when all efforts should be concentrated on improving university work, on confining the university to its proper function of giving good advanced students who are fit to receive it, and, in fact, to making the university a

more fruitful and less disappointing agency in the life of the community." In this context, the Committee recommended the need for enriching college libraries, concentration of Honours Courses at selected centres and organisation of tutorial and research work in the universities.

Women's Education

In women's education, the Committee noted a great disparity existing in the figures of school going boys and girls. It found primary education of girls in villages inefficient and restricted and at the secondary stage it was quite inadequate. It stressed the need of prescribing a curricula that would suit the requirements of girls, of appointing a large number of women teachers and inspectress on good salaries as well as of appointing official of the rank of a Deputy Director to look after the programme of women education. The Committee also recommended a gradual introduction of compulsion for the education of girls, the future mothers of the country.

On the aspect of educational administration the Committee observed that the transfer of control of education from the Central to the Provincial Governments was not a wise step and that the Government of India could not absolve itself of the responsibilities in this manner. It pointed out the need for establishing a centralised educational agency at Delhi, increasing the inadequate staff of the Directors of Public Instruction in the provinces, relieving the Educational Commissioner of the responsibility of the centrally administered areas by appointing an Education Secretary, and finally, for holding regular conferences of senior education officials on current matters of educational importance.

Thus, the Hartog Committee report revealed how quality had been sacrificed at the altar of quantity and so the need of the hour was to improve quality rather than strive to increase the numbers still further. In other words, consolidation rather than expansion. "We have no doubt", concluded the Hartog Committee report, "that more and more money will be gladly voted for education by the legislatures of India Money is no doubt essential, but even more essential is a well-directed policy carried out by effective and competent agencies, determined to eliminate waste of all kinds. We were asked to report on the organisation of education. At almost every point that organisation needs reconsideration and

strengthening; and the relations of the bodies responsible for the organisation of education need readjustment."

Impact

The Hartog Committee report was warmly welcomed by the bureaucrats and acted as a guide to their activities in education till 1937. The reports of the Provincial Directors of Public Instruction show a general uniformity of ideas emphasising such defects as the prevalence of wastage and stagnation, extreme devolution of authority to local bodies, and inadequacy of the inspecting staff. As the Director of the Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency summed up the situation in the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education* between 1932 and 37: "The policy of expansion which was in full swing between 1920 and 1930, countenanced the establishment of a large number of inefficient, uneconomic and superfluous schools which proved worse than useless. This policy of expansion has led to the recent reaction in favour of concentration and elimination, which is partly responsible for the reduction in the number of elementary schools." Yet many of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee including an increase in the salary of the teachers, and of the staff in the inspectorate and improvement of curricula remained as mere pious hopes.

The world-wide economic depression which began in 1929 was another factor which helped indirectly Hartog Committee's recommendation on consolidation rather than expansion in education. The Central and Provincial Governments had to make ruthless curtailment in the budget assigned to education which in the eyes of the Hartog Committee was a "nation-building" force. Government expenditure was gradually reduced from 1,361 lakhs in 1930-31 to 1,184 lakhs in 1935-36.

Private Enterprises remained unaffected

However, Hartog Committee report which aimed at raising the standard of education and consolidating it did not affect private enterprise in the field of education. Despite the curtailment of government efforts on account of financial stringency, a comparison of the following statistics of 1936-37 with those of 1921-22 shows an unprecedented increase in the number of institutions and of scholars under instruction:

<i>Institutions</i>	1921-22	1936-37	1921-22	1936-37
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Scholars</i>	<i>Scholars</i>
Universities	10	15	N.A.	9,697
Arts Colleges	165	217	45,418	86,273
Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20,645
Secondary Schools	7,530	13,056	11,06,803	22,87,872
Primary Schools	1,55,017	1,92,244	61,09,752	1,02,24,288
Special Schools	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Total Recognised Institutions	<u>1,66,130</u>	<u>2,11,308</u>	<u>73,96,560</u>	<u>1,28,88,044</u>
Total Unrecognised Institutions	<u>16,322</u>	<u>16,647</u>	<u>4,22,165</u>	<u>5,01,530</u>
Total for all institutions	<u>1,82,452</u>	<u>2,27,955</u>	<u>78,18,725</u>	<u>1,33,89,574</u>

The Hartog Committee's explanation of the progress of education during the decade before its appointment in 1927 is also applicable to the decade after it despite the fact that following the Lahore Congress resolution of December 1929 the Indian National Congress had started a Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Gandhi for the attainment of *purna swaraj* or complete independence and British India had been in turmoil.

Progress of Education

The Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India between 1922 and 1937 throws a flood of light on the developments in education in British India. They may be briefly noted here: In higher education, following the recommendations of Sadler Commission five new universities were set up at Delhi (1922), Nagpur (1923), Andhra (1926), Agra (1927) and Annamalai (1929).

As per recommendations of the Conference of Indian Universities held in Simla in 1924, an Inter-University Board with its headquarters at Bangalore was established to co-ordinate the activities of various universities while changes in the constitutions and functions of the older universities at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Punjab, Allahabad and Patna were brought about by passing Acts, amending the Acts of Incorporation of these universities. The number of affiliated colleges also rose from 207 in 1922 to 446 in 1937 and that of students from 66,258 to 1,26,228 in the two years respectively.

In secondary education, the number of recognised schools rose from 7,530 in 1921-22 to 13,356 in 1936-37 with a corresponding rise in the number of students from 11,06,803 to 22,87,872. In elementary education the number of primary schools rose from 1,55,016 in 1921-22 to 1,84,829 in 1926-27 with a corresponding rise in expenditure from Rs. 3,94,69,080 to Rs. 6,75,18,802 following the enactment of compulsory primary education to a certain extent in Bengal, U.P., Punjab, Bihar and Orissa in 1919, Madras in 1920, Bombay in 1923 and Assam in 1926. However after the Hartog Committee report, primary education rose very slowly. By 1937 the number of schools rose to 1,92,244, that of pupils to 1,02,24,288 and the direct expenditure involved came to Rs. 8,13,38,015 only.

Education under Provincial Autonomy

The Government of India Act of 1935

The British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, summoned the third and final session of the Round Table Conference at London on 17 November which lasted till the end of December 1932. It was largely a small gathering of 46 delegates compared to the second session in 1931 which was attended by 112 delegates including Gandhi. This time the Congress which was then staging Civil Disobedience Movement in India did not attend the session. The Conference was followed by the issue of a White Paper in March 1933 and setting up of a Joint Select Committee of Parliament under Linlithgow with a provision merely for consulting Indians. Quite naturally and expectedly, many of the admittedly restricted concessions offered in 1930-31 under pressure of Civil Disobedience Movement were now reduced through this process. And in August 1935, the Government of India Act emerged after a long and tortuous process which started eight years earlier with the appointment of the Simon Commission in 1927.

We are already acquainted with the recommendations of the Hartog Committee which was an auxiliary committee of Simon Commission on education and we need not enter here into the details of the provisions of the Government of India Act except those which affected the development of education in the country. It is sufficient here to say that the Government of India Act of 1935 put an end to the diarchical system of administration set up by the Act of 1919, abolished the distinction between reserved and

transferred subjects, and placed the whole field of provincial administration under a Ministry responsible to a legislature which had an overwhelming majority of elected members. The new system of governance, popularly known as Provincial Autonomy, came into operation in 1937 in eleven provinces of British India.

Impact of the Act on Education

How did this Act affect the administration of education in India? As we have already seen, the Act of 1919 made education a subject which was "partly all-India, partly reserved, partly transferred with limitations and partly transferred without limitations." But the Act of 1935 improved upon this anomalous position considerably and divided the educational administration into two categories only—Federal or Central and State or Provincial and included under the first head the following subjects: Imperial Library, Indian Museums, Imperial War Museum and Victoria Memorial Hall—all in Calcutta and any similar institution controlled or financed by the Federal Government; Benares Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University; Archaeology; Education in Centrally Administered Areas and finally Education for the Defence Forces. In the State or Provincial subjects the Act included all matters regarding education other than those included in the Federal or Central list.

Central Advisory Board of Education revived

Following the recommendations of the Hartog Committee the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) was revived in 1935 and at its first annual meeting held in December 1935, the Board adopted the following resolutions: a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools, to be made in such a way as not only to prepare students for professional and university courses but also to enable them to be diverted to occupations or separate vocational institutions after completion of appropriate stages. The separate stages mentioned by the CABE resolution consisted of three stages: Primary, Lower Secondary and the Higher Secondary. While the aim at the Primary Stage was to ensure permanent literacy by providing at least a minimum of general education and at the Lower Secondary Stage to prepare students for higher education or specialised practical courses by providing a self-contained course for general education, the

Higher Secondary Stage was to aim at preparing students for admission to arts and science courses of the universities. It also aimed at raising a number of trained personnel in agriculture as well as teaching in rural areas, in selected technical subjects in consultation with prospective employers and in the clerical works which might be available in government and non-government establishments. The CABE resolved in this context that the first public examination should take place at the end of the Lower Secondary Stage and decided to seek expert advice in connection with its resolution to reconstruct education in British India, as outlined in its first resolution.

Wood Abbott Report

As per the last resolution of the CABE, the Government of India invited S.H. Wood, Director of Intelligence, and A. Abbott, formerly Chief Inspector of Technical Schools of Board of Education, England to advise the Government of India in connection with the CABE resolution on the proposed reconstruction of education in British India. Wood and Abbott toured India during the winter of 1936-37 and submitted their report in June 1937. The first part of the report concerning general education and its administration was written by Wood and the second part on vocational education by Abbott, which became known as the Wood-Abbott Report.

In the first part, Wood recommended that provision should be made for trained teachers in primary or infant schools and for this purpose education of girls and women was of paramount importance. There was a great need for change in the curricula of elementary education—and as such it should be based more upon the natural interests and activities of children concerned than upon book-learning. In rural areas the curricula of middle schools should be related to rural needs and requirements. In such schools, he observed, the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue and teaching of English should be avoided as far as possible. If it was ever taught, it must not result in an excessive amount of linguistic grind. However, English should be a compulsory language in high schools while the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction as far as possible. The high schools should obtain a supply of qualified teachers in Fine Arts to teach the subject and, there should be a training course of three years'

duration for the teachers of primary and middle schools immediately after they had completed the middle school course.

The second part of the report concerning vocational education was written by Abbott. Observing that vocational education should keep pace with the industrial development of the country to check all possibilities of unemployment, he pointed out that general and vocational education were not essentially two different branches but the earlier and latter phases of a continuous process. Admission to vocational education should not be below the standard reached at the end of the middle school and pupils from this stage could be admitted to junior vocational schools, while pupils after the higher secondary stage could be admitted to senior vocational schools. The junior vocational school receiving its pupils after the completion of class VIII course and offering a 3 year course in vocational education would be parallel to the higher secondary school, while the senior vocational school receiving its students from the junior vocational schools and students who had successfully completed the class XI course and opting a course of two years in vocational education would have a qualification equal to the intermediate colleges. The report also suggested provision of part-time schools for education of persons already in employment.

Abbott observed that there was the need for training of three types of employees for the organised large-scale industries in India. They were managers, supervisors and operators. There should be adequate number of centres for the training of supervisors while operators of machines could be trained during off-hours. Abbott also observed that there should be limited number of schools earmarked for training personnel in agriculture. Agriculture as well as commerce should be offered as an optional subject in secondary schools. The report preferred the establishment of a single Polytechnic School to separate individual schools for each vocation, where training in many vocations could be given. The report also recommended establishment of a Vocational Training College at Delhi. Finally Abbott recommended the establishment in each province of an Advisory Council for Vocational Education with sub-committees dealing with engineering, textile industries, agriculture, small-scale and cottage industries and commerce. The entire responsibility of organising vocational

education and prescribing curricula for each one of the vocations should, he noted, rest with the sub-committees.

Congress Ministries in Seven Provinces

As said before, Wood and Abbott submitted their report to the Government of India in June 1937. By the time provincial autonomy as per the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 had come into operation in eleven provinces of British India. With a radical agrarian programme the Congress was able to sweep the polls in elections held at the beginning of 1937 as far as the predominantly or general Hindu seats were concerned. The Muslim League desired to form a coalition government in each province but the Congress refused to admit into the ministry anyone who did not subscribe to its creed. In seven out of eleven provinces the Congress formed Ministries. Most of the difficulties like the world-wide economic depression and the consequent financial stringency, the holding of the finance portfolio by a member of Governor's Executive Council who was not amenable to the influence of Indian ministers, Indian Educational Service whose European members had a final say in educational matters and absence of popular support as the ministers were not represented by the Congress then the most influential political organisation in the country which the Indian ministers had to face earlier in the nation-building task of education had disappeared with the abolition of the diarchical system of administration. It was naturally expected that the new provincial governments would be able to work on education more vigorously than before in the changed circumstances.

Gandhi's Scheme of Basic Education

In the meantime, Gandhi who had spoken strongly in 1920 against the present system of education, now, having got the opportunity of influencing the ministers in the seven provinces who had been fellow workers in the struggle for freedom of the country, felt "an irresistible call", as he later wrote in *Educational Reconstruction*, "to make good the charge that the present mode of education is radically wrong from top to bottom." He wrote a series of articles in the *Harijan* about his ideas on educational reconstruction in India, suggesting a scheme of universal compulsory education for all children in the age group of 6-13 through

the medium of mother-tongue which would be self-supporting, leading to all-round development of the pupils. In other words, industrial vocations such as the processing of cotton, wool and silk, paper-making and cutting, book-binding, cabinet-making etc., taught at the primary schools should serve a double purpose. They should help the pupils to pay for their tuition through the products of their labours while developing the human qualities in them through the vocations learnt at these schools. This primary education which Gandhi later described as Basic Education should equip the boys and girls to earn their bread with some support from the state.

Wardha Conference

Gandhi's ideas on self-supporting aspect of the scheme which he described as "basic education" (basic because it was expected to form the basis of our national culture), published in the *Harijan* created a great public stir. However, they came to be "unfortunately mixed up with the disappearance of drink revenues" which the Congress Ministries in the seven provinces were committed to enforce. It was, therefore, thought desirable to get the scheme examined by expert educationists and with that end in view the First Conference on National Education was called at Wardha on 22 and 23 October 1937 with Gandhi in the chair. While the Conference was attended by the Education Ministers of the seven provinces with Congress Ministries, the number of delegates was limited to national workers, particularly workers in national education. Gandhi himself placed his scheme of national education through rural handicrafts before the Conference and after a serious discussion on it for two days the Conference adopted the following four resolutions:

1. That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.
3. That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual productive work, and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

4. That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.

Zakir Husain Committee Report

The Conference then appointed Dr. Zakir Husain, Principal of Zamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, as Chairman of a Committee entrusted with the task of preparing a detailed syllabus on the lines of the four resolutions mentioned above and asked him to submit a report to the Chairman of the Conference as early as possible. Within a short period of two months, Zakir Husain Committee submitted its report. It pointed out that modern educational thought was practically unanimous in commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. While psychologically it relieved the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature was always making a healthy protest, socially it would tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both and economically it would increase the productive capacity of our workers and would also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously. From the strictly educational point of view greater concreteness and reality could be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education—knowledge would thus become related to life, and its various aspects would be correlated with one another. The object of this new educational scheme was not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically, but rather the exploitation for educational purposes of the resources implicit in craftwork. This demanded that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craftsides—but should also inspire the method of teaching all other subjects.

As a matter of fact, in the course of the report, the Committee explained the principles and objectives of the scheme in terms of recognised doctrines of education and psychology, worked out detailed syllabuses for a number of crafts, and made valuable suggestions regarding such important aspects of the scheme as the training of teachers, supervision and examination, administration and even worked out a few possible correlations with basic craft of spinning and weaving. It also warned against an obvious danger of stressing the economic aspect in the working of the scheme

at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. As the report observed: "Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, while neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implication and possibilities of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind, in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity." The report thus emphasises the educational aspects of the scheme more than its self-supporting aspect which is a radical and significant departure from Gandhi's ideas on Basic Education.

Gandhi who had very humbly described the writings on Basic Education as the writings of "a layman for the lay reader" was happy to find that his views were now endorsed by the Zakir Husain Committee consisting of educational experts. The Indian National Congress which met at Haripura in February 1938 under the presidency of Subhas Chandra Bose accepted Gandhi's scheme and it was immediately implemented in the seven provinces with Congress Ministries.

Kher Committee Report

Gandhi's scheme on basic education aroused considerable interest in the provinces of British India with non-Congress Ministries as well and the Central Board of Education which was then discussing Wood-Abbott report, decided to go through the Zakir Husain Committee's report on Gandhi's scheme. In 1938 it appointed B.G. Kher, then Prime Minister of the Bombay State who went through it and made the following observations: the scheme should first be introduced in rural areas and made compulsory for the children between 6 and 14 years of age, and it was after completing Class V or attaining the age of 11 that they should be allowed to leave basic school for other kinds of schools with a school leaving certificate. While the medium of instruction should be the mother-tongue, there would be no external examinations, and school leaving certificates based on internal examinations should be given to the pupils after the completion of the course of the basic school.

After going through the report submitted by the Kher Committee the CBE asked it to consider it further whether the scheme could be conveniently split into two parts, each part complete in

itself, while preserving its essential unity. At this the Kher Committee suggested that it could be conveniently split at class V which might be the first stage and might be called junior stage and it was only after the completion of the junior stage that children could be allowed to join other forms of post-primary education offering a variety of courses extending over a period of at least five years after the age of eleven. The courses offered by the other forms of post-primary schools should be so designed as to prepare the pupils for entry to industrial and commercial vocations as well as to universities, while preserving an essentially cultural character.

Congress Ministries resigned

The Kher Committee submitted its second report but by that time the Congress Ministries in the seven provinces were increasingly facing the problem of alienation of workers, *kisans* and all left elements within the party. At the same time, they were unable to please the landlords or business groups when in the face of tight financial constraints of provincial autonomy they took recourse to measures like Bombay urban property tax. Such was the hopeless nature of the financial position of the Congress Ministries that in July 1939 Vallabhbhai Patel hinted that the Ministries might have to be dissolved unless the provinces received a greater share of income tax. Finally, they were also realising the embarrassing possibility of having to use the new emergency powers against demonstrations by their own party men if the war broke out soon. The war was declared on 2 September 1939 by Britain on Germany and India as a colony of Britain was automatically committed to belligerency, by Linlithgow, the Viceroy, without bothering to consult the Provincial Ministries or any Indian leader. When the Congress Working Committee meeting on 14 September invited the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms their war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and how they were going to be applied to India, Linlithgow took more than a month to tell the Congress about his inability to elaborate the war aims of Britain further than the British Prime Minister. The Congress Working Committee found Linlithgow's reply far from satisfactory and asked the Congress Ministers in the seven provinces to resign on 29-30 October, which they did.

Sargent Plan

With the resignation of the Congress Ministers any hopes of an educational reconstruction under Provincial Autonomy were lost. The caretaker governments that now succeeded the popular governments in the provinces were too pre-occupied sorting out the problems created by the war as well as by the freedom movement led by Gandhi to have any time and money for education in British India. However as the victory of the Allied Powers was in sight by 1943, the Government of India asked all provincial governments to chalk out plans of post-war developments in India and as a part of the general scheme, Sir John Sargent, the then Education Adviser with the Government of India, was also asked by the Reconstruction Committee of the Government of India to prepare a memorandum on post-war educational development in India for submission to the Viceroy's Executive Council for consideration. At their meeting in October 1943 and January 1944, the Central Advisory Board of Education accepted Sargent's memorandum and under his guidance, was able to prepare a report which was compiled from the materials in the forms of reports on different aspects of education in India then lying with it. The report, popularly known as Sargent Report, was entitled "Post-war Educational Development in India", and aimed at attaining the educational standard of contemporary England in India, within a minimum period of forty years. We may now have a look at the main recommendations for post-war educational development in British India.

First, the report recommended for the first time a reasonable provision of pre-primary education for children between 3 and 6 years of age, covering some ten lakhs places in nursery schools or classes.

Secondly, there should be a provision of universal free and compulsory primary education for all children between the ages of 6 and 14, divided in two stages—Junior Basic (6–11) and Senior Basic (11–14). While Junior Basic would be compulsory for all, Senior Basic would be meant for those who would not join high schools.

Thirdly, high school education should be meant for selected children (including twenty per cent from Junior Basic Schools) between the ages of 11 and 17. There would be two types of high

schools—Academic High Schools providing instruction in Arts and Sciences and Technical High Schools providing instruction in applied sciences, industrial and commercial subjects. Girls were to be additionally instructed in Home Sciences. For all high schools, the medium of instruction was to be the mother-tongue.

Fourthly, Intermediate courses were to be abolished—first year of the intermediate course was transferred to the high schools while the second year of it to the universities. Only one out of every 10 or 15 matriculates were to be given admission to universities meant for post-graduate teaching and research. There should be an all-India body on the model of the University Grants Committee of Great Britain for co-ordinating activities of the various universities.

Fifthly, the requirements of industry and commerce would determine the amount, type and location of each type of institutions, namely, Technical, Commercial and Art Education. Generally speaking; four types of institutions would be required: (I) Junior Technical, Industrial or Trade School with a two year course after the Senior Basic Stage; (II) Technical, Industrial or Trade School with a six year course after the Junior Basic Stage; (III) Senior Technical, Industrial or Trade School with a programme of course in consultation with employers; and finally (IV) University Technological Departments providing facilities for research and teaching. Over and above this, the report also emphasised the need for instituting part-time courses for students who could be working in factories, and other industrial or commercial concern as paid workers for improving their knowledge and efficiency.

Sixthly, there should be proper arrangements for the education of the adult illiterates between the ages of 10 and 40 (approximately 9 crores) through visual and mechanical aids such as pictures, illustrations, artistic and other objects, magic lanterns, cinema, gramophone, radio, folk dances, music—both vocal and instrumental—and dramatic performance. In adult education, the report observed that though the main emphasis would be on literacy, there should be some provision for those turned literate to have "an inducement as well as an opportunity to pursue their studies." There should be separate classes for boys and elderly persons while special attention should be devoted to women adult illiterates.

Seventhly, there should be full provision for the training of teachers. It was estimated that implementation of the scheme would need nearly 2,21,733 teachers—2,000,000 non-graduate teachers, including 23,333 for the pre-primary stage, 11,96,200 for the Junior Basic Stage and 6,25,560 for the Senior Basic Stage and 1,81,320 graduate teachers for high schools. In the Pre-Basic and Junior Basic Schools there should be one teacher for every 30 children, in Senior Basic Schools one for every 25 students and in high schools one teacher for every 20 students. While the graduates would be trained for one year in training colleges, non-graduates would be given three kinds of training—Pre-Basic and Junior Basic Stages teachers (2 years), Senior Basic Schools (3 years) and non-graduate teachers for high schools (2 years). There should be refresher courses for trained teachers at different intervals. As far as the training of technical and commercial teachers was concerned, they would acquire it in technical and industrial institutions. The report also proposed a revision of a scale of pay for all grades of teachers.

Eightly, there should be provision for compulsory physical education, medical inspection and treatment of students in order to keep them physically fit and thorough medical test of the students should be made at the age of six, eleven and fourteen years.

Ninthly, there should be special institutions for the education of physically and mentally handicapped children including imbecile, blind, deaf and dumb.

Finally, the report suggested provision for an Employment Bureau advising students about various employment possibilities and also for social and recreational activities of the institutes on a very large scale.

The report emphasised the creation of education departments both at the Centre and in the States to supervise education in the country. Provinces would look after the entire education except university and higher technical education which would be co-ordinated on all-India basis. It would also be necessary for the provincial governments to resume all powers in education from local bodies which were not functioning efficiently.

A Critique of Sargent Plan

The whole plan covering a period of forty years in which the contemporary educational standard of England was to be

achieved had further been divided into five year programmes. "The first five", the report pointed out, "should be devoted to planning propaganda and particularly to the provision of the institution necessary for training teachers and that thereafter the actual carrying out of the scheme should be divided into seven five year programmes, during each of which an area or areas should be fully dealt with. The size of these areas in the case of each Province will be determined during each programme period by various factors of which the supply of teachers available will be the most important." The total cost of the scheme, it was estimated, would be Rs. 31,260 lakhs, out of which Rs. 27,700 lakhs would have to come from public funds.

K.G. Saiyidain who was associated with the working of the Sargent Plan has thus appreciated it: "What is the wider significance of this scheme? It is the first comprehensive scheme of national education; it does not start with the assumption, implicit in all previous Government schemes, that India was destined to occupy a position of educational inferiority in the comity of nations; it is based on the conviction that what other countries have achieved in the field of education is well within the competence of this country. The mere formulation of such a scheme ensures that no other scheme which proposes any half-hearted, piecemeal changes or merely tinkers with the idea of expansion can ever be seriously entertained. Secondly, it is inspired by the desire to provide equality of opportunity at different stages of education. At the primary stage it envisages not merely the provision of free schooling but also of other facilities without which the poorer children cannot fully avail themselves of the education opportunities—mid-day meal, books, scholarships, medical inspection and treatment. At higher stages, free places and scholarships are proposed for all bright and deserving students. This is by no means that full measure of educational equality which an enlightened sense of social justice demands but it is certainly a welcome step forward towards that goal and would be a great improvement on the existing situation. Thirdly, it stresses in clear terms the importance of the teaching profession and makes proposals for increasing its miserable standard of salaries and poor conditions of service. It lays down a minimum national scale of salaries, and provides for its adjustment in accordance with the rise in the cost of living."

Sargent Plan had been criticised on the ground that "it placed a very tame ideal before the country. As the Report itself admitted, India would reach the educational standard of the England of 1939 in a period of not less than 40 years: In other words, even assuming that the plan were fully implemented, the India of 1984 would still be nearly 50 years behind England." Secondly, "the only ideal held up by the Report is that of the educational system of England, while, as a matter of fact, England is the one country which could not very well serve as a model to India, because the social, political and economic conditions in the two countries are so vastly different. If India had to have a model, she could look for it elsewhere in eastern countries like China or Egypt or Turkey or in Western agricultural countries like Denmark or Soviet Russia—all of which had many problems similar to those of India, and which have been able to achieve splendid results in a very short time."

It must be remembered that the main reason for fixing the period for implementing the plan at forty years was the impossibility of obtaining resources in terms of men and money within a short period after the conclusion of a devastating World War. The reason why England was accepted as a model was partly because India was a British colony and partly because all educational innovations in India since 1854 had always been inspired by the examples in England and when Sargent drew his plan he had little inkling that India would achieve freedom soon. If social, political and economic conditions in England and India were different, they were not similar either between India and China or Egypt or Turkey or Denmark or Russia despite the fact that they might have many similar problems. It is futile to argue that what Russia could achieve within fifteen years, India could have achieved within the same period. The character of development of a country depends upon the character of the people and even after independence, if India could have achieved an educational standard which would have been lower than the standard in England by 40 years, that would have been indeed a tremendous achievement for us.

Implementation of Sargent Plan

Immediately after the publication of the Sargent Plan in 1944, the Central Government asked the Provincial Governments to draw up their five year programmes on the basis of the plan. In

1945 a separate Education Department was established at the Centre and in the following year the University Grant Committee was established. Thus by 1946, the Central Government which had accepted the major recommendations of the Sargent Plan was trying to give shape to many of them.

India achieved Independence

By 1946 the Congress had returned to power by winning in the general constituencies in the elections held in the 1945-46 winter routing its rivals—the Hindu Mahasabha and the Communists. In the Central Assembly the Congress captured 57 out of 102 seats against 36 in 1937 and in the provinces it won majorities everywhere except Bengal, Sind and the Punjab. On 24 March the Cabinet Mission came to India "to promote, in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion, the early realisation of full self-government in India." However, this was as usual stalled on the rock of Jinnah's insistence on Pakistan. Because of the post-war difficulties facing the country, Britain did not want to continue to hold on to India and the British Prime Minister Attlee replaced Wavell by Mountbatten who came as the Viceroy of India on 24 March 1947 to arrange for transfer of power which was done in August 1947. Jinnah, as President of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly created on 11 August, was to become the Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan comprising Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the West Punjab and the East Bengal. The Congress requested Mountbatten to continue to act as the Governor-General of the Dominion of India which included "a truncated" Bengal as well as "a truncated" Punjab.

Let us now have a look at the extent of education in British India immediately before August 1947. We shall however keep in mind the approximate total number of population which according to Sargent's estimate in 1944 was 400 million. If we make an allowance for an increase of 2 million per year, then immediately before August 1947 the British India had a population of nearly 406 million.

Elementary Education

Immediately after Hartog Committee's recommendation which argued for quality rather than quantity, elementary schools declined in number from 1.89 lakhs in 1936-37 to 1.67 lakhs in

1944-45 and then rose to 1.72 lakhs in 1946-47. Despite the decline in the number of elementary schools, there was an increasing enthusiasm among the growing population for primary education and this could be seen in the ever increasing number of pupils attending elementary schools. Thus the number of pupils increased from 1.05 crores in 1936-37 to 1.14 crores in 1944-45 and by 1946-47 it had reached 1.30 crores. By 1946-47 the total expenditure on primary education had also shot up from 6.98 crores in 1936-37 to 15.48 crores.

Secondary Education

In secondary education there was a steady increase in the number of institutions—from 13,410 in 1937-38 to 16,017 in 1943-44 and by 1946-47 the number had reached 17,258 mark. From the statistics of high schools and middle schools we can also detect a steady increase in enrolment—the number of students rose from 23.93 lakhs in 1937-38 to 36.06 lakhs in 1946-47. The expenditure on secondary education also increased from Rs. 9.6 crores in 1937-38 to 17.9 crores in 1946-47—almost a double increase.

Higher Education

In higher education by 1946-47, two more universities had been added to the existing 15 universities in British India and the number of Arts and Science Colleges increased from 174 in 1937-38 to 297 in 1946-47. The number of students studying in universities rose from 10,000 in 1937-38 to 16,000 in 1946-47 while the number of students in Arts and Science Colleges increased from 53,000 in 1937-38 to 96,000 in 1946-47. The expenditure on universities increased from Rs. 1.10 crores in 1937-38 to Rs. 2.03 crores in 1946-47 while in that on Arts and Science Colleges it rose from Rs. 1.64 crores to Rs. 3.53 crores in 1946-47. However, Engineering and Technical Colleges could not show much progress in their number which increased from 9 in 1937-38 to 16 in 1946-47, while other professional colleges increased from 47 in 1937-38 to 82 in 1946-47. Corresponding to the expenditure on these colleges which increased from Rs. 1.20 crores in 1937-38 to Rs. 2.75 crores in 1946-47, the number of students in these institutions increased from 53,697 in 1937-38 to 71,897 in 1946-47—a healthy sign that despite inadequate facilities of professional education in the country, professional education was attracting a good number of students immediately before independence.

Towards a National Policy on Education

Independence for India meant not only a vivisection of her body but also a vivisection of her soul. Education, both Western and Indian, which was an aspect of her soul also got vivisected. If a part of the Western system of education built up by the British Raj went to Pakistan, a substantial part of education developed in the Indian States¹ which opted for merger with India did fill in the gap and became henceforward a part of Indian education. It must be stated here that apart from the Chiefs' Colleges, education in the Indian States depended upon the whims and caprices of the Indian Princes, many of whom were educated abroad and no uniformity either in standard or in instruction (the medium varied from State to State according to its regional dialect) could be expected as was the case with the education in British India.

When India achieved her independence, newly emergent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America were preoccupied with the task of renovating their educational structures to suit national needs and national aspirations. We have seen how the concept of national education was born as a side product of freedom movement beginning with the Anti-Partition Movement in 1905-11. We have also noted how there was a continuous effort to clarify the concept and to set up some experimental institutions outside the

1. At the time of independence, there were more than five hundred Indian States which varied enormously from each other in its size, importance and status.

official system financed and controlled by the British Raj as in the 1920s and the 1930s. The earlier national institutions could now become a part of the general system and the effort now made was to convert the entire system of education to the national pattern. Thus in January 1948 in his inaugural address to the All India Educational Conference convened by the Union Education Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, observed: "Whenever conferences were called to form a plan for education in India, the tendency, as a rule, was to maintain the existing system with slight modification. This must not happen now. Great changes have taken place in the country and the educational system must also be in keeping with them. The entire basis of education must be revolutionised."

Nehru's observation was quite in keeping with the forces of the time which saw emergent nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America preoccupied with the task of renovating their educational structures to suit national needs and national aspirations. But the promised revolution in education system in India was not so easy to materialise. India after independence was plagued with a host of pressing problems. The Partition had brought to India refugees from East and West Pakistan—they had to be rehabilitated. The Princely States had to be integrated with the Indian Union. The bureaucracy and the army had to be reorganised as the departure of British officials had left these services depleted. India had to be granted a constitution and made a republic. Plans had to be drawn up for developing the country.

Radhakrishnan Commission

In the midst of all these the utmost that could be done in education was to appoint in 1948 a University Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan as reconstruction of university education was considered essential to meet the demand for scientific, technical and other manpower needed for the socio-economic development of the country.

The recommendations of the Commission in 1949 were wide—covering all aspects of university education in India. They emphasised the 10+2 structure at the pre-university stage, correction of the "extreme specialisation" in the courses, development of research to advance the frontiers of knowledge and of professional education in agriculture, commerce, law, medicine,

education, science and technology including certain new areas such as business and public administrations and industrial relations and suggested reform of the examination system by assessment of the student's work throughout the year and introduction of courses on the central problems of the philosophy of religion. They also emphasised the importance of student's welfare by means of scholarships and stipends, hostel, library and medical facilities and suggested that they should be familiar with three languages—the regional, federal, and English—at the university stage and that English be replaced as early as possible by an Indian language. The Commission was also in favour of the idea of setting up rural universities to meet the need of rural reconstruction in industry, agriculture and various walks of life. The universities should be constituted as autonomous bodies to meet the new responsibilities, a Central University Grant Commission be established for allocating grants, and finally, university education be placed in the Concurrent List.

Education in the Constitution

Earlier in the same year when the Radhakrishnan Commission submitted its recommendations, on 26 January 1949, Independent India had adopted a constitution finalized by the Constituent Assembly and the following year on the same date India proclaimed herself a Republic. The Constitution made Education a State Subject and divided the educational responsibility between the Government of India and the State as reproduced below:

List I: List of Union Functions

63. The institutions known at the commencement of this constitution as the Benares Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University and the Delhi University and any other institution declared by Parliament by Law to be an institution of national importance.
64. Institutions for scientific or technical education financed by the Government of India wholly or in part and declared by Parliament by law to be institutions of national importance.
65. Union agencies and institutions for:
 - (a) professional, vocational or technical training, including the training of police officers; or
 - (b) the promotion of special studies or research; or

- (c) scientific or technical assistance in the investigation or detection of crime.
- 66. Co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.

List II: List of State Functions

- 11. Education including universities, subject to provision of entries 63, 64, 65, and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III.

List III: List of Concurrent Functions

- 25. Vocational and technical training of labour.

The Constitution provided statutory recognition (Part XVII, Article 343) to the demand for the use of Hindi in Devnagri script as the official language of the Indian Union replacing English. It was further provided that the transition from English to Hindi be gradual and acceptable to all, that English should continue to be used till 1965 for all official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before the adoption of the Constitution while States were authorised to adopt Hindi or any other modern Indian language for their official purposes. The Constitution also provided for the appointment of a Language Commission five years after the adoption of the Constitution. The recommendations of the Language Commission were to be considered by a Parliamentary Committee and the decision about the use of Hindi as the official language was to be taken on the basis of the recommendations of the Official Language Committee. While providing adequate safeguards for the educational and cultural interests of minorities, the Constitution realised the importance of universal primary education for the proper development of democracy. Thus Article 45 of the Constitution, also one of the important Directive Principles of State Policy, observed that "the State shall endeavour to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years."

Planning Commission

In the same year when India was proclaimed a Republic, a decision to develop the country in a planned way was taken. With that end in view, a Planning Commission was created at the Centre

and was entrusted with the task of drawing five year plans covering all aspects of national development including education. The First Five Year Plan began in 1950-51 with Rs. 153 crores as an outlay on education, which represented 7.8 per cent of the total Plan outlay.

Mudaliar Commission

One of the most significant recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission was on the reorganization of secondary education as a pre-requisite condition for the development of university education. In 1952 the Secondary Education Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dr. A.L. Mudaliar which submitted its report in 1953. It reduced the total duration of the school course from 12 to 11 years and transferred the control of secondary school leaving examination from the universities to the specially constituted Boards of Secondary Education. While developing the curricula of the higher secondary course, the Commission sought to diversify it by the establishment of Multipurpose Schools which would provide terminal courses in technology, commerce, agriculture, fine arts and home science. The obvious object was to divert students from university education into different walks of life according to their aptitudes and capabilities.

It is clear from the above that the Mudaliar Commission as well as the Radhakrishnan Commission which met before it dealt exclusively with two areas of education in which the ruling elite groups were interested. Both these sections received large allocations of funds and underwent rapid, unplanned and uncontrolled expansion, resulting in deterioration of standards and creation of severe problems of educated unemployment. On the other hand, the programmes of adult education and liquidation of illiteracy continued to be neglected as in the past. In elementary education, the evils of wastage and stagnation continued unabated as no structural changes like multiple-entry or part-time education were introduced. A perfunctory attempt at introducing basic education on Gandhian ideas was made but it was not successful and practically given up soon. In the context of all these developments, the aim of constitutionally providing free and compulsory education for all children upto 14 years of age by 1960 seemed a distant dream now.